

**A Comparative Analysis of the Differences between  
Chinese and Japanese Modernization  
in the Mid-Late Nineteenth Century,  
with Particular Regard to the Idea of  
‘Rich Nation and Strong Army’**

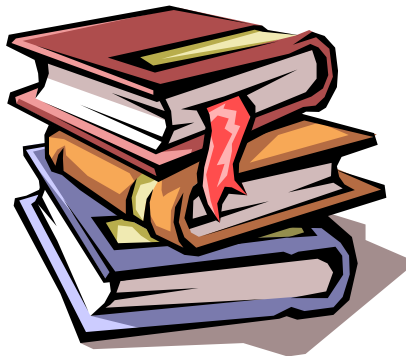
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**A thesis  
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of  
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## **Abstract**

This thesis aims to search for the whys and wherefores of success and failure in Japan's 'catching up' and China's 'slowing down' on the path to modernization / Westernization from the mid-nineteenth century to approximately the end of the first decade of the twentieth century.

First, in the introduction (Chapter One) I state what is the aim of the thesis; the definition of 'modernization'; literature review; methodology; outline of the thesis; and problems and limitations.

Chronologically, I divide the period into four phases for detailed discussion: legacies, formative, operative, and consequent.

In 'the legacies' (Chapter Two), it is shown that elements of the legacies such as territorial integrity, population, and political, military, economic and social circumstances in Tokugawa Japan were relatively more conducive to modernization along Western lines than those in Ch'ing China.

In the formative phase (Chapter Three), it is shown that the central government and regional provincial leaders in Ch'ing China knew little and did almost nothing to respond to the menace of the West. By contrast, the Tokugawa Shogunate and more particularly regional daimyō and samurai had a deep sense of crisis and early on launched a series of reforms.

In the operative phase (Chapter Four), it will be seen that both nations pursued a national goal of 'rich nation and strong army'. However, the Self-Strengthening Movement in Ch'ing China merely undertook a superficial reform primarily limited to military innovation and introduction of Western industrialization in order to maintain the old dynastic stability. By contrast, in Meiji Japan, under the post-Restoration leadership of an oligarchy of talented and visionary individuals, the government launched a full range of reforms in pursuit of the West.

In the consequent phase (Chapter Five), even though China had by now a better comprehension of the West and continued some reforms, its path to modernization was still frustrated because of the ineffective imperial leadership, and the ethnic antipathy and power struggling between the Manchus and the Han officers. In contrast with China, Japan's modernization had shown continuity, integrity, and accumulation and acceleration and it had successfully achieved the national goal of 'rich nation and strong army' by this stage.

In Chapter Six, I reveal several famous scholars' comments on this issue of comparative modernisation. As well, I humbly set forth a set of criteria to consider what might be the best principles and model for a nation undertaking modernization.

A conclusion reviews the thesis and its arguments in Chapter Seven, and is followed by a series of appendices and illustrations and bibliography.

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It is with satisfaction, cheerfulness, and above all appreciation that I write this acknowledgement, for it has been a longstanding dream in my life to write a thesis comparing modernization in Ch'ing China and Meiji Japan, and this has now been achieved – though of course I have yet to await its reception!

It was not a peaceful time and place when I was born in 1952 in Taiwan not far removed from the historic civil war (1945-1949) between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Nationalist Party (or Kuomintang, KMT). I believe this background of my growing up in a situation threatened by further war has been a prime-mover propelling me to research on how to pursue modernization for a nation, especially from a perspective of 'rich nation and strong army'.

First and foremost I want to say “thank you so much” to my respected and wonderful supervisor, Ken Henshall, who has devoted many working hours to discussing my views, offering guidance and suggestions, reviewing my academic writing and giving me much encouragement during this academic year. Without his teaching and support, it would have been impossible to finish this thesis.

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## Style Outline

The Romanization systems used in this thesis are those generally considered standard in the English-speaking world: Wade-Giles for Chinese and Hepburn for Japanese. Therefore, any translation from Chinese and Japanese language sources follows the conventions below.

### *Chinese Language*

Chinese names have the surname first followed by the given name. Also, the first letter of each word in names is a capital letter.

Common Chinese geographical names are normally given according to the Peking pronunciation of standard Northern Chinese (Mandarin). There are some exceptions, such as the capital of Ch'ing China in the Wade-Giles Romanization would be Pei-ching, the real pronunciation is Peking, but it still differs from Beijing of the pronunciation nowadays.

Regarding Chinese script, all Chinese terms in the main text are given Romanized Chinese script followed by the original Chinese script and the English meaning in parentheses.

### *Japanese Language*

Similar to Chinese, Japanese personal names have the surname first followed by the given name. Also, the first letter of each word in names is a capital letter.

All proper nouns are in Romanised Japanese script with macrons for long vowels, except for common terms. Thus Chōshū, but Tokyo (not Tōkyō).

Regarding Japanese script, also similar to the Chinese, all Japanese terms are given in Romanised Japanese script followed by the original Japanese script and the English meaning in parentheses.

All references will be in the Modern Language Association (MLA) style.



## **Chapter One:**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1. What is this thesis about?**

The purpose of this thesis is to review the situation in the mid-late nineteenth century when Western powers, advanced in industrialization and with high achievements in science and technology, came to the Far East to demand through so-called 'gunboat diplomacy' the opening of ports and trade with such countries as China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam. How did these Eastern nations respond to what was arguably the biggest challenge in their history? Is there a successful way of reacting to such a critical situation, a way permitting defense of one's nation as well as maintaining national wealth?

Without doubt history can be characterised in part by such things as continuity, causality and pragmatism. In searching for solutions to such complex and troublesome issues as unifying and defending a nation, developing its economy or solving financial problems and settling social disturbances, I believe historical experiences provide valuable principles which can be applied today to those nations which want to be rich, strong and independent. Therefore a comparative analysis of the differences between Chinese and Japanese modernization(s) should prove a worthwhile and significant theme, being a major instance in human history of a 'higher advanced' civilization meeting a 'lower undeveloped' one. In this particular case, in pursuing the hypothesis that there might be such a thing as an achievable and successful way to modernization, such as through westernization, the most useful cases to study would seem to be the modernization paths of on the one hand China during the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1895) and subsequent reforms (1896-1911), and on the other Meiji Japan (1868-1912). Of particular interest to me is the contemporary idea, common to both, of 'rich nation and strong army'.

#### **1.2. What is the meaning of 'modernization'?**

Certainly, to avoid confusion, we need to clearly define the terms 'modernization', 'westernization' and 'industrialization' prior to commencing the main text. I agree with Gilbert Rozman's views expressed in his work *The Modernization of China*. He says,

“We view modernization as the process by which societies have been and are being transformed under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution.”<sup>1</sup> In a broad sense, it is true that 'modernization' can be thought of as a process associated with elements such as independent sovereignty in international society; national identity; democracy and bureaucratization in domestic politics; a financial and economic system to support the three main levels of industry (primary, manufacturing and service production); infant survival rate; life expectancy; equitable distribution of income; social welfare; and the educational level and cultural enlightenment of its people. Through these dimensions, we can examine how successful a nation is in its modernization.

However, the term 'modernization' as it appears in this thesis mostly means 'westernization' because China and Japan were 'latecomers'<sup>2</sup> compared with those 'first-comers'<sup>3</sup> such as England, France and the United States, the primary Western powers in the mid-late nineteenth century. To face the challenge – indeed potential threat – coming from Western powers, these latecomers had to learn Western strong points in fields such as military science and industrial technology. Thus the patterns of modernization followed by China and Japan were Western in style.

One major factor was the industrial revolution, which emerged firstly in England in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and later in France and the United States. Industrialization, including both light and heavy manufacturing, accelerated the pace of economic development associated with technical and mechanical innovation. It was to find a source of materials and mass markets for manufactured goods that in large part stimulated the Western powers to search for colonies overseas, and this factor made possible the large-scale encounter between the Occident and the Orient.

I think it is necessary to explain why in this thesis I still prefer to use the term 'modernization' instead of 'westernization' or 'industrialization'. On the one hand, basically, even though industrialization is linked to the strategy of 'rich nation and strong army', the meaning of industrialization and westernization in both countries is in each case too narrow to adequately explain every policy adopted in the Self-Strengthening Movement (*Tzu-chiang yun-tung* 自強運動) of China and in the Meiji Restoration (*Meiji-ishin* 明治維新) of Japan. On the other hand, modernization is a dynamic, full-scale process in a society not limited by timing or scope. For

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<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Rozman ed., *The Modernization of China*. (New York, 1981), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p 4. Rozman points out “early modernizing countries we refer to as first-comers (primarily England, France, and the United States) and successful latecomers (such as Japan and Russia)....”

<sup>3</sup> Idem.

instance, though aiming to achieve a rich nation and a strong army China was not successful in learning through westernization in the era of the Self-Strengthening Movement, and as a result there was a later reform, the Hundred Days Reform (1898), mainly for political reasons. There was similarly a 1911 Revolution which brought about the abdication of the Manchus as well as the establishment of the Republic of China; and the May Fourth Movement of 1919 was based on democracy and science in every aspect of the nation's modernization. Even Japan did not fully complete its modernization in the era of the Meiji Restoration, especially in the aspect of democracy, even though it won triumphs against its rivals in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Thus in order to avoid inconsistencies regarding the exact meaning of the westernization / industrialization of China and Japan in the mid-late nineteenth century, I have selected the term 'modernization' in the title of my thesis.

### 1.3. Literature Review

With regard to the topics of China's modernization and Japan's Meiji Restoration, there are a huge number of books in English, Chinese and Japanese which go into in great detail, typically from the perspective of historians. Moreover some specialists have even made general comparisons and listed separately various merits and demerits along the path to modernization of these two nations. However, unfortunately, few have clearly and systematically addressed the core question that could be drawn out of this study: **“What are the best strategies to cope with the challenge from a dominant foreign civilization with particular regard to the aspects of a rich nation and a strong army?”**

Without doubt, many of these works (see bibliography) can provide valuable material for reference. For example, in the case of China: *The Cambridge History of China. Volumes 10 & 11* edited by John K. Fairbank, *The Modernization of China* edited by Gibert Rozman, *China: Tradition and Transformation* by John K. Fairbank & Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Rise of Modern China* by Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, and *Choung-kou chin-tai-shih (Chinese Modern History)* by Lee Shou-Kong contain Chinese modern history narratives in very great detail. Moreover, some books focus on a particular theme, such as Mary C. Wright's *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874* and Chien Po-Tsan's *Wu-hsu pien-fa (The Hundred Days Reform)* which pay primary attention to political affairs. *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of Treaty Ports, 1842~1854* by J.K.

Fairbank and *China's Entrance into the Family of Nations* by Immanuel C.Y. Hsu discuss China's international relationships during those times. *The Rise of Chinese Military Power, 1895-1912* by Ralph L. Powell, *A Military History of China* edited by David A. Graff & Robin Higham, *Li Hung-Chang and the Huai Army* by Stanley Spector, and *Naval warfare and the Refraction of China's Self-Strengthening Reforms into Scientific and Technological Failure, 1865-1895* in *Modern Asian Studies*, 2004 (38, 2, May), by Benjamin A. Elman, mainly discuss military issues. *China's Early Industrialization: Sheng Hsuan-Huai and Mandarin Enterprise* by Albert Feuerwerker and *Foreign Investment and the Economic Development in China, 1840-1937* by Hou Chi-Ming address economic and industrial development. *The Earliest Government Schools in China* by Knight Biggerstaff focuses on educational history.

Similarly, in the case of Japan there are such works as: *A History of Japan: from Stone Age to Superpower* by Kenneth G. Henshall, *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 5: the Nineteenth Century, The Making of Modern Japan* edited by Marius B. Jansen, *The Roots of Modern Japan* by Jean-Pierre Lehmann, *Japan: Tradition & Transformation* by Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan in Transition from Tokugawa to Meiji* edited by Marius B. Jansen & Gilbert Rozman, *The Meiji Restoration* by W.G. Beasley, *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization* edited by Marius B. Jansen & Robert Neelly Bellah, *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History 1868-1912* edited by Peter Kornicki, and *Kōza Nihon rekishi: Kindai, vol. 7 (The study of Japanese History: Modern Period)* edited by Rekishigaku kenkyūkai (The Association of Historical Studies). In these books, the authors account for, evaluate or discuss Japanese modern history thoroughly and precisely. In relation to more specialised aspects of Meiji Japan, there are such books as *A Political History of Japan During the Meiji Era 1867-1917* by Walter Wallace McLaren, *Japanese Economic Development: Theory and Practice* by Penelope Francks, *The Formation of Modern Japan: As Viewed from Legal History* by Nakamura Kichisaburo, *The Heritage of Japanese Civilization* by Albert M. Craig, *Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan* by H.J. Jones, and *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in The Late Meiji Period* by Carol Gluck. These authors have analyzed and described in detail, from their different viewpoints, how Meiji Japan was able to be successful in its modernization.

Apart from the above, some books or journals have particularly focused on comparisons in modernization between China and Japan. For instance: *East Asia, The Modern Transformation* by Fairbank & Reischauer & Craig, *Modern China and*

*Japan: A Brief History* by Conrad Schirokauer, *Modernization in Nineteenth Century China and Japan* in *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 3 by Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan's Response to the West, the Contrast with China in World Politics*, Vol. IX, No. 1 by William W. Lockwood, *Contrasting Factors in the Modernization of China and Japan* in *Economic Development and Culture Change*, No. II as well as *Contrasting Factors in the Modernization of China and Japan*, Reviewed in *World & I* by M.J. Levy. These English writers give their opinions as to why Japan was faster and China was slower in the path to modernization. Apart from that, Chinese and Japanese scholars also have their own understanding of this issue. For instance, in *Japanese Perspectives on China's Early Modernization*, K.H. Kim mentions about eight books written by different authors which discuss the comparison between China's and Japan's modernization. In addition, *Chung-kuo yang-wu yun-tung yu Jih-pen Ming-chih wei-hsin tsai ching-chi fa-chan shang ti pi-chiao* (*A comparative study of China's 'foreign matters' movement and Japan's Meiji modernization from the standpoint of economic development*), in *Li-shih yen-chiu*, (*Historic Study*) 1963 v.1 by Huang I-feng & Chiang To, and *Ch'ing-chi tung-kuang tzu-chiang-yun-tung yu Jih-ben Ming-chih-wie-shin yun-tung ti bi-gou* (*Comparison between Reforms in China in the period of Tung-chih & Kuang-Hsu and the Japanese Meiji Restoration*) by Li En-Han, also try to offer views on why China was slower than Japan in the matter of modernization.

In short, many books have made a great contribution to the themes of this thesis, and whether I have ever mentioned them here or not, are quite useful for reference.

#### **1.4. Methodology applied**

In relation to the study of modernization there are two main schools, notably Marxist-Leninist Studies and Modernization Studies,<sup>4</sup> and I prefer to select the latter to interpret modernization. Moreover, apart from interpretation and evaluation of

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<sup>4</sup> Marxist –Leninist approaches have the belief in common that the motor of history is the class struggle, in other words, they hold that the process of modernization is a kind of shifting confrontation between the exploiting (capitalized nations) and the exploited (less-developed countries). Accordingly they treat the relationship between the advanced states and less advanced as a global extension of the class struggle. In contrast, Modernization Studies advocate two important views, which are different from the Marxist. One is that political, economic, manufacturing and demographic and other valuable elements should measure the level of development of a nation. The other is that the process of modernization in both primary modernizers and latecomers is one of domestic transformation. Rozman says he uses an interdisciplinary approach of taking five areas to examine modernization of a society in terms of international context, political structure, economic structure and growth, social integration, and knowledge and education. However, his theory is closer to the school of Modernization Studies. See: Rozman, pp. 7-14.

traditional historical methods, the main methodologies applied in this thesis will be comparison and analysis in order to present through case study the sought-for 'successful way to modernization'. Basically the warp and woof of this research will rely on two sets of threads: one is through the interdisciplinary fields of diplomatic, political, and military; economic, financial and industrial; educational, social and cultural views to reexamine the paths of modernization of China and Japan. The other is through temporal divisions whereby the modernization of both countries will be broken down into into four phases: legacy, formative, operational and consequent (outlined briefly below).

	<b>China</b>	<b>Japan</b>
<b>Legacy</b>	The situation leading up to 1839	The situation leading up to 1853
<b>Formative</b>	From the start of the Opium War to the Peking Treaty following the Arrow War (1839~1860)	From the U.S. East India Squadron commended by Matthew Perry calling at Uraga to the Restoration of Imperial Rule (1853-1868)
<b>Operational</b>	From the start of the Self-Strengthening movement to the Treaty of Shimonoseki following the Sino-Japanese War (1861~1895)	From the start of the Meiji Restoration to the Treaty of Shimonoseki following the Sino-Japanese War (1868~1895)
<b>Consequent</b>	From the end of Sino-Japanese War to the Revolution of 1911 (1895~1911)	From the end of Sino- Japanese War to the Death of the Emperor Meiji (1895~1912)

It is necessary to have a timing framework in order to make a synchronous comparison of modernization between the two countries. In addition, I need to briefly explain here why I chose these four phases to compare Chinese and Japanese modernization.

Certainly it cannot be denied that an encounter between West and East happened in the sixteenth century<sup>5</sup> (Map 1) and even well before that time, but it was not large,

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<sup>5</sup> See the map 'European contact to 1700' in *America and Asia in a Changing World* collected by Frank

profound and full scale. In general, scholars of Asian Studies agree China started its modern history from the Opium War in 1839 and Japan started its modern history when the four warships of the U.S. East India Squadron, commanded by Commodore Matthew Perry, called at Uraga in Japan in 1853. Afterwards, both nations needed the following two decades to adjust their response to the challenge of the West. Hence this period of time I term the 'formative phase'.

After that, as Kim has observed: "In the 1860s China and Japan embarked on significant programs for the introduction of Western science and technology and during the next thirty years the two neighbors engaged in a race toward a common goal of enriching the country and strengthening the army,"<sup>6</sup> and this timing leads into what I call the 'operational phase'. This phase also offers a particularly good observation point for comparison between the modernization of China and of Japan, and especially with regard to the idea of 'Rich Nation and Strong Army'. It should be noted that some Marxist scholars<sup>7</sup> claim China started its Self-Strengthening Movement from 1864 (to 1895), but I follow the temporal division of 1861 to 1895 based on the theories of Kim<sup>8</sup> and Hsu.<sup>9</sup> I therefore agree with these latter scholars that the movement started after the Arrow War (1858-1860),<sup>10</sup> as opposed to the end of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864).

As to the following phase, the result of the Sino-Japanese War was the watershed of modernization for China and Japan. Defeated, China faced the scramble for concessions by the Powers – including the new Asian power Japan – and new demands for domestic reform. The winner, Japan, followed this with steps to develop its imperialism and militarism, encroaching into Manchuria in China after the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5, and annexing Korea in 1910. This phase I name the 'consequent phase'. For China, I chose the Revolution of 1911 and for Japan, the death of the Meiji emperor in 1912, as the end of the 'consequent phase' as well as the end of the comparative timeframe in this thesis.

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Gibney, (New York, 1992). This records the Western powers' search for trade with Asian countries.

<sup>6</sup> K. H. Kim. *Japanese Perspectives on China's Early Modernization: the Self-Strengthening Movement, 1860-1895, a Bibliographical Survey*. (Ann Arbor, 1974), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> For instance: Dai Yi in his essay "Prologue: the Main Stream through the History of Ch'ing Dynasty" in *The First Seminar of International Study in the History of Ch'ing Dynasty* (Taiwan, 2003), believes the Self-Strengthening Movement was from 1865 to 1895, p 12.

<sup>8</sup> K. H Kim. 1974, pp. 4-12.

<sup>9</sup> Immanuel C.Y. Hsu. *The Rise of Modern China*. (New York, 1970), pp. 342-347.

<sup>10</sup> The Arrow Incident happened in October 1856. In order to exact revenge on Ch'ing China, British and French Allied Forces captured Guangzhou in 1857, and continued to march forwards into northern China until the concluding of the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858 and the Convention of Beijing in 1860.

## **1.5. Outline of the thesis**

The basic structure of this thesis will comprise seven chapters in total.

Chapter One: Introduction includes the aims, literature review, methodologies and outline of the thesis. In addition key words such as 'modernization' are defined, and there is discussion also of problems or limitations which may occur.

Chapter Two: Legacies discussed the situation in China and Japan prior to the advent of the West in the mid-19th century. It covers such matters as territorial integrity, population, politics, the military, the economy, and the social situation.

Chapter Three: The Formative Phase focuses on discussion of international relationships, political structures and bureaucracy, the economic and financial situation, the educational system, the social structure and traditions as well as domestic rebellions during this period in both countries. These matters relate to the legacies respectively handed down from their pre-modern societies, through which we can check the merits and demerits in various aspects regarding the path to modernization. Certainly, the question of “how to respond to the challenge of the West” is an observational key point in this chapter.

Chapter Four: The Operational Phase compares and analyzes reforms in both China and Japan – in China the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861~1895) and in Japan the Meiji Restoration in almost three decades (1868~1895). The discussion includes decisive political figures, who were in charge of government, and addresses the domestic and international challenges of those reforms adopted in the areas of diplomacy, politics, economics, finance, taxation, industrialization, education, national defense and civil security systems, cultural enlightenment and democratic movements. By any account, comparison and analysis of these reforms made by China and Japan in three decades are the key points, from which some valuable and instructive principles can be drawn out to present the best strategies for the path to modernization.

Chapter Five: The Consequent Phase aims to compare the effects of the Sino-Japanese War on both nations and to analyze the reasons why the Hundred Days Reform in 1898, the Decade of Conservative Reform<sup>11</sup> after the Boxer Uprising in 1900, and the

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<sup>11</sup> After the failure of the Hundred Days Reform, the Ch'ing Court launched the Decade of Conservative Reform after the Boxer uprising in 1900 till 1911. It included suspension of the examination system (1905), the implementation of a program to send students overseas and the setting



Revolution of 1911 happened in China, as well as why Japan headed towards imperialism and militarism.

Chapter Six: Lessons from History searches for the whys and wherefores of success and failure as well as establishing key factors in Japan's catching up and China's slowing down on the path to modernization, with particular regard to the efficacy of the idea of 'rich nation and strong army' as the core of this case study.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion is the final chapter and will review the thesis and its arguments.

### **1.6. Problems and limitations**

Certainly, it cannot be denied that a topic such as comparing the modernization of China and Japan in order to search for a successful strategy to achieve a 'rich nation and strong army' has its difficulties and limitations. Because of the huge range of materials written in different languages it is quite impossible for one MA student to read and summarize all of these works in a relatively short time. Particularly in the pursuit of extensiveness and exhaustiveness in studying huge amounts of historic materials, there is a tendency in academic circles around the world for authors to try to use methodologies of collectiveness, comprehensiveness and to be interdisciplinary in compiling, interpreting or evaluating history. For instance, with *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 10: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part 1* and *Volume 11, Part 2* (edited by Denis Twitchett and John. K. Fairbank), and *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History 1868-1912* (edited by Peter Kornicki), one notes that it is virtually a case of a different scholar writing each chapter in these books. Thus I should say that I have to humbly stand on the shoulders of these giants who have made such a great contribution to the topic to set up my theory and to prove the hypothesis that "there might be such a thing as an achievable and successful way to modernization." Of course, inevitably some points in the conclusion might contain my own subjective views, omissions or defects. As the poet Ziya Pasha<sup>12</sup> wrote:

The things I've chosen are a drop, no more:  
The undiminished sea still crowds the shore.

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up of a preparative conference for constitutional monarchy. See Rozman 1981, pp. 228-231.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted by J.A.G. Roberts in his preface in *Modern China: An Illustrated History*. (Phoenix Mill, 1998).

## **Chapter Two:**

### **Comparison and analysis of legacies in China and Japan**

#### **2.1. The influences involved in the legacies**

There is a prerequisite to studying the way China and Japan responded to the challenge of the West in the mid-nineteenth century and this concerns the influence of the legacies. Thus this chapter will focus on the effect of these legacies for China and Japan on their paths to modernization. Through comparison and analysis it will be possible to perceive which legacy better fitted which nation for modernization.

#### **2.2. Do the legacies affect China's and Japan's paths to modernization?**

As we know modernization is a kind of largely internal process of change in a country affecting almost all aspects including political, economic, industrial, military, educational, social and cultural, and even the way of thinking of its people. In particular, the Western powers transferred their traditions to modernity by means of applying modern technology and knowledge from the time of the Industrial Revolution<sup>1</sup> from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. They were the originators of industrialization and had already developed their new technology and knowledge for over eighty years before 1840. Thus in the mid-nineteenth century the West was much further ahead on the path to modernization than these countries in the East.

Moreover if we study the process of Western modernization in a nation we cannot neglect those legacies which have been handed down from pre-modern ages, providing a continuing influence on the inheritor-nation. In particular such nations as China and Japan have survived for several thousand years and have created a great – and according to some – glorious Oriental Civilization in the Asian World, even though the Japanese think their culture is unique and quite different from that of China.

As a result, certainly the legacies have had a huge influence on the nation preceding

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<sup>1</sup> In general, the Industrial Revolution is divided into two phases. The first phase was the mechanization of lighter industries (cotton and wool) with the harnessing of steam power since the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The second phase was the mechanization of heavier industries (iron and steel) from 1830.

modernization. Through case study, it may be possible to find out the size of the impact of the legacies on the inheritors on their path to modernization, and especially how difficult it is for such nations as China and Japan, in confronting this transformation, to decide to what degree they should adopt modernization or abandon tradition.

### **2.3. How did the legacies affect China's and Japan's paths to modernization?**

#### **2.3.1. China**

##### **International relationships and the political situation**

Traditionally, China considered itself as the central kingdom, surrounded by countries such as Korea, the kingdom of the Ryukyu Islands, Annan (known in ancient times as Vietnam), Laos, Burma and the other countries in Southeast and Central Asia under the relationship of the so-called Tributary System.<sup>2</sup> This comprised a hierarchy to show how close the neighbourly intercourse was among them. For example the relationship between China and Korea was of the first class.

In 1644, the Ch'ing dynasty was established in China by the Manchu. It basically continued the same political systems and international relationships with its neighbours as the former Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). However, this was the second<sup>3</sup> time in Chinese history that the country was ruled not by the majority, the Han people, but by an alien ethnic minority group, in this case the Manchu, who were only about 2 percent of the population of the whole empire.<sup>4</sup> Under the reign of three wise emperors K'ang-Hsi (reigned 1662-1722), Yung-Cheng (reigned 1723-1735) and Ch'ien-Lung (reigned 1736-1795), Ch'ing China reached its summit in the dynastic cycle and expanded its territory to a huge geographical area (Map 2).<sup>5</sup> Its population had increased to approximately 430 million<sup>6</sup> by 1850. However, the huge population growth placed the empire under a great deal of pressure since natural disaster, famine and poverty easily brought about disturbances in society.

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<sup>2</sup> Immanuel. C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*. (New York, 1970), pp. 174-179. Even Japan had paid tribute to China for a short period (1404-1549).

<sup>3</sup> The first rule by foreigners in China was the Yuan/ Mongol Dynasty (1280-1368).

<sup>4</sup> Conrad Schirokauer, *Modern China and Japan*. (New York, 1982), p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.5.

<sup>6</sup> John K. Fairbank, eds., *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 10*. (New York, 1978), p. 109. Also see Gilbert Rozman ed., *The Modernization of China*. (New York, 1981), p.144.

In pre-modern China, apart from opening the port of Canton<sup>7</sup> for trading with overseas countries and keeping a certain diplomatic relationship with the Russian Empire, fundamentally the Ch'ing Dynasty adopted a national policy of exclusion. With a huge population and a vast area as well as regarding itself as the central kingdom in the tributary system, the whole empire was hardly able to review and adjust its diplomatic policies with the West when they came to the East and demanded the opening of more ports for trading. Similarly, as Fairbank says:

China's long history as the ancient center of East Asian civilization had given her people an inborn sense of superiority to all outsiders. The inertia and persistence of traditional patterns and both material and intellectual self-sufficiency all made China comparatively resistant and unresponsive to the challenge of the West.<sup>8</sup>

The political situation in Ch'ing China was that of a dynastic state. The whole nation was ruled absolutely by a monarchical autocracy and the Imperial Court was the representative of the nation. The bureaucracy in the central government consisted of Principal Offices including the Grand Secretariat (*Nei-Ko* 內閣), the Grand Council (*Chun-Chi Ch'u* 軍機處) Six Boards (*Li-Pu* 吏部 for Civil Affairs, *Hu-Pu* 戶部 for Revenue, *Ri-Pu* 禮部 for Rites, *Ping-Pu* 兵部 for Military, *Hsing-Pu* 刑部 for Punishment, *Kung-Pu* 工部 for Public Works) and the Coordinate Office and the Imperial Department.<sup>9</sup> Further, the local administration was divided into four grades: Province (18), Circuit (92), Prefecture (between 177-185), and District or Department (1500) but excluded special areas such as Mongolia, Manchuria, Sinkiang, Tibet and Chinghai.<sup>10</sup>

K.C. Hsiao points out that in the Ch'ing regime: "The imperial rulers were therefore compelled by political necessity to maintain as firm as possible a control of the vast realm in order to insure political stability and thus to perpetuate their regime."<sup>11</sup> At the summit of the ruling hierarchy, the emperor played the principal role of the whole

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<sup>7</sup> With the successful pacification of Taiwan in 1683, the Ch'ing government lifted the ban on foreign trade, reopened ports of Canton, Chang-Chou (in Fukien), Ningpo and Yun-tai-shan (in Kiangsu) in 1683. However, in order to avoid the trouble caused by the aggressive British merchants demanding the opening of more ports in the north for trading, the Ch'ing's court opened only Canton to the West. See Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, (New York, 1970), pp. 183-186.

<sup>8</sup> John. K. Fairbank & Edwin O. Reischauer, *China: Tradition and Transformation*. (Boston, 1989), p. 258.

<sup>9</sup> Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*. (New York, 1970), pp. 58-70.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.

<sup>11</sup> Gilbert Rozman ed., *The Modernization of China* (New York, 1981), p. 55.

empire. If he could not handle the national machine properly and efficiently, he would easily fall into the situation of becoming worn out dealing with the huge volume of documents every day and become unable to make decisive policies. At the same time, officers of both the central and local governments in the bureaucratic system were faithful to their emperor and were really the servants of His Majesty, not of the people.

However, because of their suspicions of Han officers, the Ch'ing court adopted the resultant policy of mutual checks in the administrative system in order to keep a balance of power between Han and Manchus, and this caused administrative inefficiency. Moreover the practices of widespread corruption and bribery were very common in the government. For example in the reign of Ch'ien-Lung, his favorite bodyguard Ho-Shen<sup>12</sup>(1750-1799), who was finally promoted to the Grand Secretariat, bled a fortune of 800 million taels (about \$1.5 billion) in his official career, a truly massive sum equivalent to the state income for twenty years.<sup>13</sup>

In general, the Ch'ing Dynasty started its downfall during the nineteenth century under the weak reigns of emperors such as Chia-Ch'ing (reigned 1796-1820), Tao-Kuang (reigned 1821-1850) and Hsien-Feng (reigned 1851-1861). The spirit of Chinese official life was passive and was aimed at avoiding any appearance of trouble or disturbances in officials' jurisdictions in order for them to secure promotion. The administrators preferred to harmonize or compromise with the local interest groups and did not easily innovate. Moreover the administration was not efficient and corruption was serious as well. Thus under this political structure the Ch'ing government had little capacity to react effectively to the challenge of the West

### **The military situation**

The armed forces at the beginning of the Ch'ing Dynasty consisted of the Eight Banners established by Nurhachi (1559-1626). Banners were primarily administrative organizations, which carried out the functions of raising, supporting and training a certain number of troops. His successor, Hong Taiji (1592-1643), expanded the banner system to Eight Mongol Banners and Eight Han Banners and his heir, Shun-Chih (1644-1661), took advantage of the Ming Dynasty's (1368-1644) rebellions to

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<sup>12</sup> Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, (New York, 1970), p. 166.

<sup>13</sup> The estimates of Ch'ing government revenues pre-1850 roughly reached 40 million taels: referred to in Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *East Asia: Tradition & Transformation, Revised Edition*. (Boston, 1989), p. 568

conquer China. However when the Three Feudatories Rebellion (1673-1681) occurred, the Banner Forces had become too weak to suppress it. To replace the Banners, the so-called 'Green Standard Armies', which originally consisted of surrendered Ming armies of Han soldiers and led by Han generals, complemented the Banner Forces to repress the rebellion. Thus throughout the eighteenth century these two branches, the Banner Forces and the Green Standard Armies, were the backbone of Ch'ing armed forces.<sup>14</sup> Fundamentally, as Paul Lococo Jr. says, the establishment of the Ch'ing military system was aimed at "how to maintain an effective military force, yet insure that it could not threaten the ruling dynasty."<sup>15</sup>

However, the dynasty's military, controlled by the Board of War (Ping-Pu), became progressively unable to meet the challenges coming from internal rebellions and external threats, due to its decay and weakness. From the 1820s to the 1840s especially, in order to settle the disorder arising from incompletely assimilated non-Han minorities, the Chinese military system started to transfer from the centrally-controlled bureaucratization to a new form of local or provincial defensive forces. New militias called *t'uan lien*<sup>16</sup> 團練 (local forces) were established, which could be called up by the magistrates of a county or prefecture and were based on the *pao-chia* 保甲 registrations (a kind of family registry used for organizing local safeguarding). Whenever any regional revolt became serious and the national forces could not handle this, the new militia would replace the role of the formal forces and be utilized to crush these disturbances. From then on, it was the turning point for the Ch'ing military system, which was transformed from centralization to decentralization.

In general, the Ch'ing dynasty was backward in its military technology, and the military administration was decaying as well. As Fairbank comments: "Without training or discipline, they lacked skill and courage in the field and would run before the enemy could arrive, being fearless only toward the helpless common people."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the navy had no concept of establishing a mobile striking force to secure sea power. Chinese naval vessels consisted only of small-scale squadrons equipped with a crew of one hundred and half a dozen old-fashioned cannon under separate provincial commands, with which it was impossible to defend China nautically

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<sup>14</sup> Paul Lococo Jr, *'The Ch'ing Empire' (Chapter Seven)* in David A. Graffand & Robin Highham. ed., *A Military History of China*, (Colorado, U.S.A., 2002), pp. 121-123.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>16</sup> The new units *t'uan-lien* were upgraded militia, recruited by local gentry leaders. They used the organizations of lineages, and the prestige and funds of local family notables to establish the local forces. See Gilbert Rozman ed., *The Modernization of China*. (New York, 1981), p.69.

<sup>17</sup> Fairbank, et al. 1965, p. 458.

against the Western powers.<sup>18</sup>

Hsu describes Ch'ing's military situation as follows:

Instead of studying military arts, the troops led a debauched life of gambling, theater-going, watching cock-fights, opium-smoking, and ran usury and mortgaging businesses on the side. Unskilled in their military profession, they were good for nothing but consuming the government stipends.<sup>19</sup>

The government had to raise about 1.5 million taels per year for the army including their families. To support this huge military, one can imagine how heavy the burden was on Ch'ing China. Also the corruption in the military was serious: for example, a Manchu general Fu-K'ang and his subordinates, in order to put military funds into their private coffers, deliberately prolonged the campaign against the Chin-Ch'uan rebels.<sup>20</sup> Thus from these matters one can perceive the seriousness of the corruption and incompetence of the Ch'ing military. Certainly, because of the debasement of the military in the Ch'ing dynasty it was obvious that it could not satisfy the practical needs of the nineteenth century.

### **The economic and fiscal situation**

China was an agricultural country; about four-fifths of its people lived on the land by means of using traditional ways such as animals, tools, sluiceways for irrigation and a great supply of labour. There were three characteristics of its economy: it was a relatively self-sufficient economic entity; institutionalized science and new technology had not yet been applied; and invisible restraints, through exorbitant levies or government monopolies, curbed the undertaking of profit-making entrepreneurship.<sup>21</sup> Trading either domestic or foreign was negligible. Even though private pawnshops and a monetary system of copper coins and silver and gold taels was in evidence, such conditions as legal safeguards for commercial activities, large scale manufacturing, forms of joint-stock company, an investment market and a banking system were still lacking. Fiscal administration was also not efficient and

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<sup>18</sup> Idem.

<sup>19</sup> Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, (New York, 1970), pp. 168-169.

<sup>20</sup> Idem.

<sup>21</sup> John. K. Fairbank & Edwin O. Reischauer. *China: Tradition and Transformation*. (Boston, 1989), pp. 261-263.

unable to support the government in taking actions when needed. The actual amounts of government revenue were not fixed, since the revenues were not accounted for by a budgeting and auditing system but relied on a complex interplay of personal relationships,<sup>22</sup> which meant the revenues could be determined by negotiation, not by an institutional system.

Thus, in general, by the early stages of the nineteenth century the economics of the Ch'ing Empire were in bad shape and weakened by graft and institutionalized corruption in the administrative system, lack of an efficient fiscal administration, the inordinate military expenses of the campaigns against internal riots, the cost of importing opium and the like, and by those who depleted the nation's treasury day after day. Furthermore, because the value of silver rose from a tael of silver exchanged for 700 cash copper coins in the eighteenth century to 1300 or 1400 cash coins in the nineteenth century,<sup>23</sup> the people suffered from paying almost double to live.<sup>24</sup> That was another reason why riots were frequent at this stage.

### **Communication systems**

The empire had built up a public system for its communication and transportation by using state roads to connect all provinces and their major cities; by the network of post stations around the whole country for the official purpose of military surveillance, delivery of information and inter-governmental communications; and by the inner water transport system of the Great Canal for transporting food, clothing and other raw materials to the north. The main traffic tools were horses, horse powered sedans, palanquins and boats.

In terms of media communications, publications were printed on a small scale in both central and local government.

By any account, the means of communication were old fashioned and not efficient, especially within those boundary areas such as Mongolia, Manchuria, Sinkiang, Tibet and Chinghai. As a result, Ch'ing China was very slow to utilize modern technology for communications until the late nineteenth century.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 265-267.

<sup>23</sup> Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, (New York, 1970), p. 169.

<sup>24</sup> Because in general, the common people used the copper coins for shopping but paid the tax in silver. The rising value of silver meant they had to pay more money for tax than before which impacted on their lives seriously.



## **Social, legal and educational situation**

Regarding the social structure, Ch'ing society consisted of the 20 per cent of the population belonging to the so-called ruling stratum, including scholars, gentry, officials, absentee landlords, militarists; and of the peasantry who were the remaining 80 per cent of the population. Traditionally the rigid Confucian ideology, which respected the intellectual and extolled the cultivation of the land, but despised the parasitic manipulations of merchants, was rooted deeply in the upper class of the social elites, scholars and officials. Such ideology was a reason for China's inertia in response to the challenge from the mercantilism and industrialism of the West.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand China was a so-called gentry country as well since this class had a big influence on politics and economics in society as a whole. The gentry-status holders could obtain their qualifications in two ways: one, for about two-thirds of the gentry, was through the examination system; the other way, for the remaining third of the gentry, was by purchase.<sup>26</sup> The gentry stratum was officially treated as a reservoir for appointment to office. Such a flexible system, which permitted the rich to buy a degree status and get into the ruling class, made society more feudal and more corrupt.

In addition, Chinese society was based on the unit of the family, not the individual. The male and the female were not equally treated in society and the father in the family had authority over the other members. According to the moral code of Confucian ideology, women should be obedient to their husbands with no property rights and no economic independence. And, in general, girls had to have their feet bound for beauty in their youth, but this made them effectively cripples.<sup>27</sup> (Picture 1.) They were the victims of traditional society. Also the clan system had certain functions in society such as setting up regulations to control the behavior of its related lineages, processing rights, organizing self-guard and being involved in tribunals for disputes among relatives and the like.

In addition, opium use became more popular and the habit of opium smoking spread throughout society to such people as government officials (Picture 2.),<sup>28</sup> merchants,

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 259-260.

<sup>26</sup> The total number of lower level gentry status holders was about a million people in 1800. See John K. Fairbank & Edwin O. Reischauer, *China: Tradition and Transformation*. (Boston, 1989), pp. 259-260.

<sup>27</sup> J.A.G. Roberts, *Modern China: An Illustrated History*. (Phoenix Mill, 1998), pp. 14-15.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

literati, women, soldiers and even monks, nuns and priests. The demand for the drug in China cost countless money to import from the West (Map 3: the opium trade in Ch'ing China).<sup>29</sup> Besides the financial deficit from importing opium being serious, the opium-smoking habit also damaged the health and minds of the people.

Above all, several fierce social rebellions, as well as natural disasters, occurred in the mid-nineteenth century, threatening the survival of the dynasty and dealing a serious blow to society. For instance, there were the *Miao* Rebellions (1795-1806),<sup>30</sup> the White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1804),<sup>31</sup> and the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), and the secret societies of the south launched riots throughout the whole period of the Ch'ing regime.<sup>32</sup> Major natural calamities also happened in the 1840s and the 1850s, such as the severe draught in Honan (1847), the flooding in the four provinces along the Yangtze River and the famine in the Kwangsi province in 1849, and the flooding of the Yellow River in 1852, which all caused people to suffer greatly so that once the rebellions started they were easily persuaded to join them.<sup>33</sup>

By any account, fundamentally, as some Marxist scholars describe, the nature of Chinese society was feudal and bureaucratic at this stage. Society showed the features of a feudal bureaucracy, a gentry-based elite and a so-called 'Oriental despotism'.<sup>34</sup> People suffered many privations under the feudal system of society. The society of the Ch'ing dynasty was obviously involved in unstable and stressful situations because the social insurgencies were linked with natural disasters and formed an unfortunate circle in the mid-nineteenth century.

In its legal system, Ch'ing China lacked the legal institutions to handle conflicts and resolve disputes among the people or similarly with its neighbors. In many senses, with no independent judiciary ever developing, the empire relied on ethical norms rather than legal instruments even though it had penal codes for penalties and punishments that were mainly executed by the local governor and reviewed by the *Hsing-Pu* in the central government.<sup>35</sup> Such legal operations in China were not capable of dealing with disputes between the Chinese and the West in the nineteenth century. One notes Fairbank's comment that "There was also Western repugnance at the arbitrary arrest and torture of accused persons, as practiced under Chinese

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<sup>29</sup> Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, (New York, 1970), p. 216.

<sup>30</sup> John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 10*. (New York, 1978), pp. 132-133.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-144.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-136.

<sup>33</sup> Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, (New York, 1970), p. 274.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>35</sup> Gilbert Rozman, (New York, 1981), pp. 97-100.

criminal law. Antithetic assumptions concerning the rights and responsibilities of the individual underlay the Anglo-Saxon and the Chinese legal tradition..."<sup>36</sup> That is the reason why extraterritoriality was a requirement imposed by the Western powers in the unequal treaties after the Opium War.

With regard to the educational situation, China's literacy rate reached a high level in that about one-quarter to one-third of adult males had the ability to read simple texts, but the gap in literacy between male and female adults was large, and few women could read and write.<sup>37</sup> As Rozman describes, "The human resources of China increased substantially in quantity, but showed little dynamism in various measures of occupational diversity, literacy and technical skills."<sup>38</sup> In general, people learned calligraphy, literacy and simple mathematics in a village school supported by private means. They especially studied the so-called 'Eight-legged Essay'<sup>39</sup> (*pa-ku wen* 八股文). Through three levels of the examinations system, that is district, provincial and metropolitan, by using the eight-paragraphed essay candidates could acquire gentry-membership, as well as having the chance to become an officer in the government.

However, I strongly agree with Hsu's comment:

The greatest shortcomings of the examination system were its narrow scope and impractical nature. Literary excellence and administrative ability were quite different matters... Conformity to the rigid pattern of the 'Eight-legged Essay' tended to stifle free expression and to encourage orthodoxy. What is perhaps most important, the examination system stressed the Confucian values only and rewarded literary and humanistic accomplishments at the expense of science, technology, commerce and industry.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, owing to the frequent and serious literary inquisitions after the establishment of the Ch'ing Dynasty, very few scholars of 'statecraft' (*ching-shih* 經世) schools, such as Wei Yuan (1794-1857) as Juan Yaun (1764-1849), dared to advocate applying their studies to solve the political and economic problems of the government; most literati and intellectual elites transferred their studies from 'statecraft' to

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<sup>36</sup> John. K. Fairbank & Edwin O, Reischauer, *China: Tradition and Transformation*. (Boston, 1989), p. 276.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>38</sup> Gilbert Rozman, (New York, 1981), p. 155.

<sup>39</sup> Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, (New York, 1970), pp. 99-104.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

antiquarian knowledge in order to avoid suffering political persecution.<sup>41</sup> They gradually lost moral responsibility and did not play the role of innovators or leaders of their society at this stage.



In short, Ch'ing China was facing the downfall of its dynastic cycle in the nineteenth century. There were many reasons for China's inability to react to the challenges from the West immediately and effectively. These were derived from such factors as its traditional worldviews; its comprising a huge population and huge territorial area under the tributary system; the political structure which included an alien dynasty, utilizing Manchu-Chinese diarchy in administration in order to keep a balance of power; the monarchical autocracy; and corruption and passiveness in the bureaucracy. Other factors were the decay of the armed forces that caused the military to move from centralization to decentralization; a lack of well-developed public communication and transportation; a backward legal system which could not meet the demand from the West; new technology not being applied to develop the economy, plus inefficient fiscal administration; and a feudal society deeply rooted in Confucian ideology and the like. Therefore it could be said that, in general, most legacies of tradition in China were too fixed, backward and passive to respond to the new potential threats from the West.

### **2.3.2. Japan**

#### **International relationships and the political situation**

Japan is a marine archipelago located along the Eastern Asian continent (Map 4)<sup>42</sup> and generally comprised Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu and Hokkaido (also called Ezochi 蝦夷地 in the Edo Period) at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate (bakufu).

Basically, during the Tokugawa/Edo Period (1603-1867), it had a national policy of exclusion, mostly only opening the port of Dejima near Nagasaki for trading with China and the Dutch. In 1837 the shogunate reinforced the Order of Expulsion (*Ikokusen uchiharairei* 異国船打払令) to expel foreign ships which tried to get closer

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<sup>41</sup> 'Statecraft' was an academic school, which aimed at the application of scholarship to the problems of government administration as opposed to knowledge, speculative philosophy, and formalism. See John K. Fairbank & Edwin O. Reischauer. (Boston, 1989), pp. 267-269.

<sup>42</sup> Conrad Schirokauer, *Modern China and Japan*. (New York, 1982), p.108.

to the Japanese coast. However after the Opium War, when the news of China's defeat spread to Japan, the shogunate was suddenly aware of the power of the West and changed its attitude from expulsion to compromise. By a new order (*shinsui kyūyōrei* 薪水給与令), the local daimyō (clan lords) could supply food and water to those on foreign ships wrecked or sailing around Japan.<sup>43</sup>

In 1853 the Commodore of the United States' East Indian Squad, Matthew Perry (1794-1858), led four ships to Uraga in Tokyo Bay and demanded the opening of the ports for trading, and the following year Japan signed the Kanagawa Treaty (Treaty of Peace and Amity between the U.S. and Japan). Subsequently the Ansei Commercial Treaties were concluded with five nations, namely the U.S.A., Holland, Russia, Britain and France (1858). In these unequal treaties Japan suffered humiliating conditions such as extraterritoriality, fixed tariffs and most-favored-nation treatment at the hands of the Western powers.<sup>44</sup> The shogunate had no capacity to deal with the potential threat from the Western powers, or even the possibility of colonization by one or more of them, and this incapacity was instrumental in the imminent downfall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan.

Regarding the political situation, unlike China, Japan was not a dynastic country. The central government operated a dual system, with the emperor a symbolic ruler in the *kuge seigen* 公家政権 (emperor system) and the shogun the real ruler in the *bugo seigen* 武家政権 (shogunate system). This type of political system was formed from the establishment of the Kamakura Bakufu (1192-1336) and continued through to the Tokugawa Bakufu (1603-1868). In addition, Japan was virtually racially homogeneous with about 33,000,000 people in 1872,<sup>45</sup> unlike China, which was a heterogeneous state at this stage.

Moreover, under the ruling system of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the government was largely based on the *bakuhau taisei* 幕藩体制 (shogunate and daimyō system which included three types of daimyō, in total around 266: *Gosanke* 御三家 (the three branch families of the Tokugawa house, namely *Owari* 尾張, *Kii* 紀伊 and *Mito* 水戸 domains) and *shinpan* 親藩 23 (domains related to the Tokugawa family), *fudai* 譜代 145 (daimyō in hereditary vassalage to the Tokugawa house), and *tozama* 外様 98

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<sup>43</sup> “The Lesson from the Opium War” in *Rekishitsū* 歴史通 (Studying History) by Tanisawa, Eiichi 谷沢永一 (Tokyo, 2004), pp. 142-144.

<sup>44</sup> Ishii Susumu 石井 進, eds., *Shōsetsu Nihonshi* 詳説日本史 (A Detailed Japanese History). (Tokyo, 2000), pp. 226-229.

<sup>45</sup> The population of 33,000,000 recorded in 1875. See Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱 芳明, eds., *Nihonshi sōran* 日本史総覧 (Conspectus of Japanese History). (Tokyo, 2001), p. 165.

(outside daimyō)<sup>46</sup> (Map 5).<sup>47</sup> In general the shogunate paid most attention to stability in politics, the economy and society; and in order to develop its prosperity it gave a certain degree of autonomous power to the daimyō to develop their domains, while strictly retaining overall control through a combination of rules and punishment.

In addition, even though it might be an overstatement when Tanizawa Eichi says “Japan has no corruption and bribery in its tradition,”<sup>48</sup> it is obvious the administration in the shogunal government was relatively efficient, active and of reasonable integrity as well. Without doubt, under the regime of the Tokugawa Shogunate Japan had established a good foundation of economic growth and social stability for its modernization.<sup>49</sup>

However, when the Western powers started coming to the East with their demands for opening the country, the shogunate was not capable of defending the nation and this gave those long-opposed outer domains the chance to oppose it more actively. For example, regional powers such as Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa grew to such an extent that they could have a big influence on issues such as whether the nation should adopt an opening or a confrontation policy to react to the West, and whether the successor of the 13<sup>th</sup> shogun (Tokugawa Iesada 1824-1858) should be Tokugawa Yoshitomi (1846-1866) or Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837-1913). The key characteristic at this stage was that outside daimyō had a big voice in their advocacy on national policy. Finally these outside domains, led by enlightened samurai, challenged and overthrew the shogunate and made possible the Meiji Restoration. Thus as Kenneth Henshall comments: “The inability of the shogun to deal effectively with the foreign ‘threat’, despite his supposed role as military protector of Japan, sounded the death knell for the shogunate.”<sup>50</sup>

## The military situation

Shortly after its establishment, the Tokugawa Shogunate proclaimed *bukeshohatto* 武家諸法度 (Laws for the Military Houses)<sup>51</sup> in 1615 and *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 (alternate

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>47</sup> Reischauer & Craig. *Japan: Tradition & Transformation*. (Sydney, 1979), pp. 84-85.

<sup>48</sup> Tanisawa, Eiichi 谷沢永一, (Tokyo, 2004), pp. 32-34.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., pp. 105 -111.

<sup>50</sup> Henshall, Kenneth G., *A History of Japan: from Stone Age to Superpower*: (New York, 2004), p. 68.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Laws for the Military Houses’ regulated the lives of the military class, limited the military establishment and fortifications of the daimyō, prevented them from entering into alliance with one another, and set up many other restrictions on their activities. See, Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *East Asia: Tradition & Transformation*. (Boston, 1989), p. 404.

attendance)<sup>52</sup> in 1635 in order to establish the shogun's superior status as well as to control the daimyō. However, since there was no significant military campaign or political change except small-scale riots by peasants or townsmen, the military gradually decayed. Also the Tokugawa Shogunate wanted to rule Japan in peace, and it preferred to re-train warriors from the role of fighters to that of well-educated bureaucrats in the administration system through teaching them how to use writing brushes in place of swords. Thus:

The samurai remained organized for the most part into military units and made a fetish of their two swords, but warfare had become a matter of theory, not practice. Schools were founded in the various domains to teach the military arts, but gunnery and the use of firearms, which had proved the decisive military techniques, were largely ignored...<sup>53</sup>

The 'traditional' samurai values of *bushidō* 武士道 ('Way of the Warrior') such as absolute loyalty to one's master, strict fulfillment of obligations, deadly defence of one's status and honor, were emphasized and codified after the shogunate secured stability of the regime.

In the latter stages of the Tokugawa Period some samurai passionately transferred their personal loyalty from their daimyō, or the shogun, to the emperor as the supreme national symbol, and furthermore they strongly advocated reform of the governmental system to resist invasion from overseas (*Sonnōjōi* 尊王攘夷, literally 'revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians'). Such strong motivation of elites in the warrior class had a decisive impact on Japanese modernization in the mid-nineteenth century.

As a matter of fact, owing to the weakness of the shogunate while facing the threats from the West, powerful domains such as Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa ignored the Laws for the Military Houses, started to arm themselves strongly against the shogunate, and finally brought about rivalry among regional forces. This was one form of subversion to the Tokugawa system in the late stage of the shogunate.

## **The economic and fiscal situation**

At the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate such natural disasters occurred as the *Tenmei*

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 405. 'Alternate attendance' was a rigid compulsory system, which required most daimyō to spend alternate years in Edo. And daimyō families were held as hostages in Edo too.

<sup>53</sup> Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. (Boston, 1989), pp. 410-411.

famine 天明飢饉 (1782-1787) and the *Tenbō* famine 天保飢饉 (1833-1839), plus severe cold weather in the Ōu region 奥羽地方 in 1866, as well as man-made disturbances in the form of small-scale local insurgencies around the nation such as the *Bōchōikki* 防長一揆 in 1831, the *Mikawakamoikki* 三河加茂一揆 and the *Gunnaiikki* 郡内一揆 in 1836, and the *Ōshioikki* 大塩一揆 and the *Ikutayorozu* Riot 生田万の乱 in 1837.<sup>54</sup> However, in general economic development and social stability were well maintained. As Fairbank et al. point out:

In any case, the rise of the Japanese economy above mere subsistence levels permitted the development of relatively high standards of literacy, economic institutions, and government services, and these high standards helped make possible Japan's successful modernization in the nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

Without doubt, the system of 'alternate attendance' (whereby daimyō and their retinues spent alternate years in Edo) made a great contribution to commercialization and developed Japan as a single nation-wide market. It also brought about the rapid growth of cities and towns throughout the whole country (notably along processional routes). In general, these industries – including fishery, forestry, diversity of mines, winery, paper production, pottery and silk and cotton textiles – had developed well around the whole country. In addition, as the shogunate intended to control the circulation, quality and price of goods in trading, the organization of the *kabunakama* 株仲間<sup>56</sup> as well as so-called *ryūtsūkikō* 流通機構<sup>57</sup> (a kind of a national wide distribution system) had been promoted. The three biggest cities Edo, Osaka and Kyoto grew rapidly and all made a good foundation for modernization. A number of big business companies appeared such as Mitsui 三井, involved in *sake* brewing, pawn brokerage, money lending and acting as official banker; Kōnoike 鴻池, involved in *sake* brewing, money lending, shipping and later acting as financial agent; and Sumitomo 住友, involved in iron goods, drugs, and later becoming a major trader and refiner of copper. The Tokugawa Shogunate also issued a set of currency of gold, silver and copper coins as well as paper money to establish a monetary system for commercial needs. Apart from the shogunate's endeavors, daimyō also made an effort

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<sup>54</sup> Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱 芳明, eds., (Tokyo, 2001), p. 145.

<sup>55</sup> Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. (Boston, 1989), p. 417.

<sup>56</sup> Miyahara, Takeo 宮原武夫 ed., *Nihon no rekishi* 日本の歴史 (*Japan History*), (Tokyo, 1989), pp. 136-137. *kabu nakama* 株仲間<sup>56</sup> was a kind of a trade association aimed at monopoly of a business which functioned more or less like the 'stock companies' in contemporary economy).

<sup>57</sup> Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱 芳明, eds., (Tokyo, 2001), p. 135. The *ryūtsūkikō* 流通機構<sup>57</sup> was a kind of a nation-wide distribution system, which included transport by sea and on roads, a banking system and a warehouse system for goods.



towards economic constructions in their domains in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, in the Satsuma domain Shimazu Nariakira (1809-1858) started to build a reverberator, a shipyard, and textile mills and introduced Western weapons; in the Hizen domain, Babeshima Naomasa (1814-1871) focused on pottery production and tried to import Western military industry to manufacture gunnery and the like.<sup>58</sup> As well, many rich peasants and townsmen had shown the aggressive spirit of entrepreneurs and tried to carry out commercial expansion, and the surplus labor was forming a reservoir for the demands of subsequent industrialization in the pre-modern age. All were conducive to modernization.

However, in the meantime, since the exchange rate between gold and silver was 1 = 5 in Japan but 1 = 15 in the West, a great amount of gold was sent overseas. It forced the shogunate to adopt the policy in 1860 of reducing the weight of gold in coins called *manen koban* 万延小判 in place of *ansei koban* 安政小判 (Graph 1).<sup>59</sup> The former was obviously lighter than the latter. Also as exports increased rapidly and the suppliers could not keep up with the needs, in particular the price of rice, paper, silk, tea, and cotton rose sharply.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore the shogunate tried to import gunnery and warships from the West in order to reinforce its military power, and this cost a great deal of money. All these things made people's livelihood harder but gave them chance to explore the new future.

Above all, the following comment from Henshall is highly appropriate in relation to the Tokugawa period:

National stability in terms of peace and political structures provided a helpful environment. As a result of increased economic activity there was increased diversity and specialization (in terms of both region and worker), which boosted efficiency, commercialization, and monetarisation still further.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ishii Susumu 石井 進, eds. 詳説日本史 *Shōsetsu Nihonshi (A Detailed Japanese History)*. (Tokyo, 2000), pp. 213-215.

<sup>59</sup> For the transformation of the weight of different koban see Graph 1 in Hamashima, Masaaki 浜島 正昭, eds. *Shinshō Nihonshizusetsu* 新詳日本史図説 *New Visual Vision of Japanese History*. (Tokyo, 1998), p. 134.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Henshall, Kenneth G., (New York, 2004), p. 65.

## Communication systems

In the period of the Tokugawa shogunate, the national communications systems had been well developed both on land and by sea. On the land, main state roads such as the Tōkaidō 東海道, Nakasendō 中山道, Kōshūdōchū 甲州道中, Ōshūdōchū 奥中道中, Nikkōdōchū 日光道中, Sanindō 山陰道, Sanyōdō 山陽道 on Honshu Island; Nagasaki-dō 長崎道 on Kyushu Island and subordinate roads surrounding Shikoku Island had been established as an inland network system for transportation (Map 6.).<sup>62</sup> Also since the *sankinkōtai* 参勤交代 system was operating, the economic development was even more prosperous. Moreover to carry out the function of a modern post office, there were systems such as *tsugibikyaku* 継飛脚, *daimyōbikyaku* 大名飛脚, and *machibikyaku* 町飛脚<sup>63</sup> to deliver documents, letters and goods to the big cities along these state roads. At the same time there were such water systems as the *nankairo* 南海路 (sea voyage between Edo and Osaka), *nishimawari kōro* 西廻り航路 (sea voyage around the coastline of the Japan Sea, Pacific Ocean and Osaka in Western Japan), and the *higashimawari kōro* 東廻り航路 (sea voyage around the coastline of the Japan Sea, the Pacific Ocean and Edo in Eastern Japan) for transportation.<sup>64</sup> All of these fundamental infrastructures made it easier for Japan in its modernization.

## Social, Legal and Educational Situation:

Social structure in Japan in the Tokugawa Period basically consisted of a clear hierarchy of four basic classes, which adopted the Confucian theory in a descending order. There were the warrior-bureaucrats that took the place of the scholar-bureaucrats of China; the peasants or primary producers; the artisans or secondary producers; and the merchants, whose contribution to society was in general least valued by mainstream thought. The highest classes at the warrior- bureaucrat level were the shogun, daimyō and their retainers. In total the group constituted about six percent of the whole population.<sup>65</sup> In order to ensure political stability, the shogunate kept great social rigidity, by which the social mobility was strictly limited. The samurai class always had to keep a clear line away from commoners to show

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<sup>62</sup> Narita Kiichirō 成田 喜一郎, *Nihon no chizu 日本地図 (Japan Atlas)*. (Tokyo, 1999), pp. 62-63.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., *tsugibikyaku* the postmen used by the bakufu, *daimyōbikyaku* the postmen used by the daimyō, *machibikyaku* postmen used by nonofficials.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer & Albert M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition & Transformation*. (Sydney, 1973), pp. 87-89.

their proud status in society. In the mid-nineteenth century, the shogunate changed its attitude to the merchant class and gave them a considerable degree of autonomy and they were relatively lightly taxed. Thus this new tendency gave those huge profit-making merchant houses such as Mitsui, Sumitomo a good opportunity to develop. The rise of the merchant at this stage was particularly important for Japan's modernization in the future.<sup>66</sup>

Similarly to China, Japanese society treated the family as the basic unit rather than the individual, and women and children belonged to the men to be treated as their property. In addition, according to Confucianism, women were inferior to men and should have the virtue of so-called '*sanjū*' 三従 (these were three obligations for women in a family: they had to obey their fathers as children, their husbands after marriage and their sons after their husband's death). But unlike China there was no habit of foot binding required of a female. As Reischauer and Craig comment, on Japanese society:

The mixed feudal and Confucian values of the Tokugawa period thus left Japan a legacy of extraordinary formalism and rigidity on the one hand but also of strong inner discipline and personal drive on the other.<sup>67</sup>

Regarding the legal situation, there were many laws such as *kuge shohatto* 公家諸法度 (regulations for Court nobility which comprised 17 items) for regulating matters in the emperor's Court; *buke shohatto* 武家諸法度 (codes for the samurai class comprising 19 items in total after 1635) for regulating the conduct of daimyō and samurai; *shoshūjiin hatto* 諸宗寺院法度 (a code of nine items for Buddhists for conducting rites at Buddhist temples) and *shosha neki kannushi hatto* 諸社禰宜神主法度 (a code of five items for Shinto shrines) and the like.<sup>68</sup>

Similarly to Ch'ing China at this stage, basically the judiciary merged into administration, as there was no legislature and no modern law system in the government. All laws were executive orders and issued by administrative forms. The *machi bugyō* 町奉行 (the administrators in Edo) and *kanjō bugyō* 勘定奉行 (the administrators of the big cities around the shogunate's territory) played the roles of administration, judicature and police. As well, in order to enforce national security, the shogunate exercised control by means of collective responsibility and accountability, which was enforced by inter-vigilance and harsh punishment.

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<sup>66</sup> Henshall, Kenneth G., (New York, 2004), pp. 65-66.

<sup>67</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer & Albert M. Craig, (Sydney, 1973), p. 93.

<sup>68</sup> Hamashima, Masaaki 浜島 正昭, eds., (Tokyo, 1998), p. 127.

Regarding the educational situation, because Japan had adopted the Chinese pattern in many aspects for over a thousand years (but not the examination system), Japanese culture showed a great deal of Chinese style such as Confucianism and the Buddhist religion. Literature, calligraphy, painting, sculpture, costume and the like were also strongly influenced by China. However, through its own way of replicating foreign elements, Japan was able to create a unique *wafū* 和風 culture (Japanese style). Therefore the consciousness of having borrowed from overseas in earlier times made it easier for Japan to justify doing so again from Western models in the mid-nineteenth century.

In addition, Japan possibly had the highest literacy rate in the world at that time. This is estimated at almost 45 per cent for males and 15 per cent for females; in other words, on average, 30 per cent of its people could read and write.<sup>69</sup> Private schools called *terakoya* 寺子屋 (literally ‘temple-child building’) were scattered around the whole country and in them the commoners’ children could learn how to read, write and perform calculations.

At the same time there were two popular academic schools developed for civilian education. One was the so-called *rangaku* 蘭学 (Dutch learning) which gave Japanese intellectuals a tremendous advantage because it opened a window to learning much new and useful knowledge about science and technology, such as medicine, cartography, botany and more modern gunnery as well as enabling them to receive more information about Occidental countries. These famous private schools included Shirandō 芝蘭堂, Tekijuku 適塾, Narutakijuku 鳴滝塾, Shōkasojuke 松下村塾 and the like.

The other was the *kokugaku* 国学 (national learning), which included famous scholars such as Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843), and Hanawaho Kiichi (1746-1821). From a standpoint of criticizing and expelling the thoughts of Confucianism and Buddhism, they emphasized ancient Japanese virtues and the orthodoxy of the imperial line.<sup>70</sup> In addition some Shinto priests aggressively asserted Japan’s national superiority as the land of the gods. And the *Zen* sect of Buddhism insistently inserted the self-conscious. All of these doctrines created a strong national consciousness in the samurai class and intellectuals as well. They set up the theory of *sonnō* 尊王 (reverence for the Emperor) and made it subversive to the

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<sup>69</sup> Henshall, Kenneth G., (New York, 2004), p. 62.

<sup>70</sup> Hamashima, Masaaki 浜島 正昭, eds. (Tokyo, 1998), p. 155.

Tokugawa system.<sup>71</sup> By any account most literati and intellectual elites were extremely active in playing the role of pioneer to explore Japan's new future at the end of the shogunate and made possible the Meiji Restoration.



In short, Japan in the middle of nineteenth century faced a turning point in its history. In the political situation, the Tokugawa Shogunate could not completely control the powerful outer daimyō and aggressive demands from the West. The centralized military power of the shogunate had declined seriously due to the long era of peace and the powerful daimyō were sufficiently armed to confront the shogunate. Meanwhile passionate samurai in both the shogunate and the domains also played a key role in Japanese modernization at the end of the Tokugawa Period and the beginning of Meiji Period as well.

At the same time, the prosperous feudal economic environment no longer satisfied the needs of rich peasants and urban merchants since they already had an aggressive entrepreneurial spirit and wished to explore a more active role in the economic field. The intellectual elites not only focused on the heritages of Confucianism, and Dutch Learning but also cared about Western science, military technology, and current affairs in neighbouring countries.<sup>72</sup>

Owing to the contemporary demands and its experiences of borrowing from foreigners traditionally, all of these above factors gave Japan a chance to establish new models based on Western powers as well as to replicate them in pursuit of its path to modernization.

## **2.4. Comparison of legacies between China and Japan**

To compare the legacies of China and Japan handed down from their pre-modern periods, inevitably the similarities and differences will be subjectively judged as to whether they were of greater or lesser advantage to Western-style modernization. These factors will be analyzed item by item as below.

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<sup>71</sup> Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱 芳明, eds. (Tokyo, 2001), pp. 154-155.

<sup>72</sup> See Edwin O. Reischauer & Albert M. Craig, (Sydney, 1973), pp. 114-115.

- Population and territorial integrity: The population and the size of the nation, without doubt would have a great influence on modernization. China had a population of 430 million and a vast territory compared with Japan with 33 million in population and four main islands. China was a giant but Japan relatively a pigmy. However, during the successful modernization of those nations in the West such as Britain, France, German, and Italy they held their populations to about 30 million, and their territories were almost the same size as Japan when it started its modernization. Even though Russia and the United States had relatively bigger territories and population comparable to the giant Ch'ing China, they were both too small in population and their histories were too short. Thus it is clear both the huge population and a vast territory prevented Ch'ing China's progression to modernization. On the contrary, Japan had no such obstacles.
- International relations: In international relationships, both China in the Ch'ing Dynasty and Japan in the Tokugawa Period similarly adopted the policy of exclusion except for opening one port, Canton in China and Dejima in Japan, for trading. However Japan had a big shock and realized it had no power to face the threats of the West after it received the news of the Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the Opium War and opened five ports in China to Britain. Since that time the shogunate tactically undertook a policy of compromising to address the demands of the West without using the military. Thus in terms of the timing, Japan was the second so that it had more room to think over how to deal with the new challenge after China's suffering at the hands of the West. Apart from the above, we should also note that the Western powers had more interest in China than Japan because of its huge market and materials; in other words China experienced heavier pressure from the West than Japan. Also since China had the traditional practice of a 'tributary system', which gave its people an inborn sense of superiority to the outsiders, there was inertia and persistence against renovation; whereas Japan had no such disadvantage in its legacies.
- Politics: Regarding the political situation, China was a heterogeneous nation ruled by an absolute monarchial autocracy of an alien minority, namely the Manchus, unlike Japan which was a homogeneous nation ruled by a dual-political system, the shogunate and the Imperial Court, by which Japan had greater flexibility to adjust its political system when it suffered

out-of-control situations. Particularly in the mid-nineteenth century, the Ch'ing Dynasty faced the downfall of the 'dynastic cycle' but the Tokugawa shogunate arguably did not face the downfall of the 'shogunal cycle'. I strongly agree with Reischauer and Craig's view that "Japan in 1850 was still free of any serious external pressures. While social tensions had indeed developed... the samurai Confucian ethic still pervaded the nation, and the whole Tokugawa political structure still stood firm. If Japan had continued free of foreign encroachment, the Tokugawa system might well have continued for quite some time longer without major change"<sup>73</sup>. Moreover compared with the graft and corruption in the Ch'ing governmental administration, the administrators in Tokugawa Shogunate were more active, efficient and of higher integrity than those in China at the same time. Apart from the above, Japan had a heritage to show that it was capable of replicating and refining a model from the outside world, for instance the *Taika* (大化) Reforms (literally meaning 'Great Change', from 645 to 702) created the *Taihō* (大宝) Legal Codes (finished in 701 AD) in order to form Japan's central government based on the Chinese model of centralized government.<sup>74</sup> In the Nara period (710-784) and the Heian period (794-1192) Japan continually adopted Chinese political patterns.<sup>75</sup> Thus, by comparing such political factors as the homogenous nation, the dual-political system, the timing of the so-called 'dynastic circle' and the activeness, efficiency, integrity in the government and the experience of replicating a foreign model, Japan was much more fitted than China for starting its modernization under such conditions in pre-modern times.

- The military: The military in both countries was an old-fashioned feudal armed force and was so seriously worn down during a long period of peace that it became too weak to either suppress internal insurgencies or confront the foreign threats during the mid-nineteenth century. Also the military power in both countries was transferred from centralization to decentralization. However the differences between them were that in the case of China, the elites of the Confucianism-rooted gentry, were mostly 'conservative', they respected tradition, tried to retain the feudal system and showed their loyalty to the Ch'ing court, gradually controlling the military power. But in Japan, the enlightening samurai were assertive or even 'aggressive'; they transferred their loyalty from the shogunate and domains, were eager to learn new

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<sup>73</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer & Albert M. Craig, (Sydney, 1973), p. 115.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-15.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp.14-15.

knowledge and strongly expected renewal and renovation in the *bakumatsu* (the end-phase of the Tokugawa). Thus comparing the spirits of the conservative elites of the gentry in China and the assertive enlightened samurai in Japan, the latter were much more capable than the former to modernize since these elites controlled their nation's destination in the coming future.

- Economic and fiscal situation: In China, impacts such as the graft and institutionalized corruption in the administrative system, inefficient fiscal administration, the inordinate military expenses in campaigns against internal riots, the deficit caused by importing opium as well as a big gap in the silver-gold exchange rate in dealing with the West destroyed the national treasury and caused the economic base to deteriorate seriously day by day. In contrast to Ch'ing China, even though possessing imperfections and illogicalities in its social and political conditions, Japan generally maintained a high level of economic development in the Tokugawa period. Furthermore those elites among the samurai, urban merchants and rich peasants had been showing their actively entrepreneurial spirit from physiocracy to mercantilism. Thus it is believed that under its economic and fiscal situation Japan found it easier to boost commercialization and monetarisation in its modernization than China.
- Communication systems: Although China had built up its public system of communications and transport by using both state roads and the Great Canal water system to connect all provinces and their major cities, on account of the huge continental territory, the communication systems in its inner regions such as Mongolia, Manchuria, Sinkiang, Yun-Guz Plateau, Tibet and Chinghai were very backward. By contrast in Japan, a marine nation, in the period of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the national communication system had been well developed both on land and by sea. Thus in comparing the convenience in transportation in general it was better developed in Japan than in China.
- Social, legal and educational situation: Regarding the similarities in aspects of society, both China and Japan were influenced by the Confucian ideology; people regarded political, social and domestic ethics as important virtues. Both societies treated the family as the basic unit rather than the individual; women and children were inferior to men. Apart from the Japanese Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism were popular in China and in Japan. Both



societies consisted of a so-called hierarchy of four basic classes; the highest-status class, warrior-bureaucrats in Japan was substituted by the scholar-bureaucrats in China. Therefore it could be said that China was a gentry-oriented but Japan was a samurai-oriented country. In comparing the spirits of the social elites, the gentry class in China and the samurai class in Japan, the former was deeply rooted in rigid Confucian ideology which extolled the cultivation of the land and despised the merchant class which prevented people from developing mercantilism and industrialism, but the latter had eagerly shown the aggressive spirit of entrepreneurs and tried to learn new knowledge from the West. In addition there were no such bad practices as demanding foot binding for females and serious opium abuse in Japan. It should also be noted that the frequency and extent of internal rebellions and natural disasters made fatal calamities more serious in China than in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century.

Regarding the legal system, the Japanese system was similar to that in Ch'ing China, basically the judiciary merged into administration. There was no legislature and no modern law systems in the government in the pre modern age.

Concerning the educational situation, China and Japan both achieved a high literacy rate in the pre-modern age. However, by the nineteenth century, there was no such 'Dutch Learning' in China, which educated Japanese scholars able to read Dutch and enabled them to a significant extent to learn science and be knowledgeable about the West. Such Dutch Learning bestowed upon Japan a tremendous advantage in catching up technologically with the West once it made up its mind to do so. On the other hand, it is interesting that Japan did not introduce the ancient examination system from China even though it had existed for over a thousand years. As well, there was no 'Eight-Legged (/Paragraphed) Essay' in Japan to confine the intellectual's thought in conformity to a rigid pattern. In addition, in order to avoid suffering political persecution, most literati and intellectual elites in China transferred their studies from 'statecraft' to antiquarian knowledge; they gradually lost moral responsibility and did not sponsor or lead innovation for their society. On the contrary, most literati and intellectual elites in the samurai class in Japan were passionate and extremely active in playing the role of pioneer to explore a new future at the end of the Tokugawa era.



## **2.5. Conclusion**

It is ironic when we perceive the fact that to a huge, long-civilized nation such as China, most of its legacies were not assets but handicaps to its 'modernization'. Through comparing and analyzing these elements of territorial integrity, population, and the political, military, economic, and social situations in both, it is obvious that the legacies handed down from the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan were more conducive than those in Ch'ing China to modernization along Western lines.

## **Chapter Three:**

### **Comparison and analysis of China and Japan in the formative phase**

After examining the important influence from the legacies, we should now look at how these two countries responded to the challenge from the West and as a result, what was learnt by China and Japan within their formative phases of 1839-1860 in China and 1853-1868 in Japan. These are important points, because the nation that can thoroughly understand the situation and respond properly, or alternatively quickly alter any mistaken policies initially adopted to deal with the West, will be the winner in the modernization competition. Accordingly through comparison and analysis, we can decide who was better able to make correct decisions for modernization in this phase, the Ch'ing dynasty in China or the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan.

There are three points to consider: first, the way China and Japan responded to the challenge from the West under the pressure of domestic disorders; second, the lessons learnt from this; and finally, comparison and analysis within the formative phase. These points are considered in detail in this chapter.

### **3.1. Comparison**

#### **3.1.1. China**

During the period from 1839-1860, Ch'ing China faced the downfall of a dynastic cycle plagued by a dual threat, externally from the West and internally from the rebellions within the country. Thus in discussing the challenge from the West, we should be aware that at the same time rebellions seriously damaged the foundation of Ch'ing rule. The Taiping Rebellion nearly overthrew the imperial sovereignty by raging over sixteen provinces (out of eighteen in total) and more than 600 cities from 1850 to 1864; the Nien Rebellion devastated eight provinces from 1851 to 1868; the Moslem Rebellion spread in the Yunnan province from 1855-1873; the Tungan Rebellion in the northwest spread over Kansu, Shensi, Ningsia and Sinkiang provinces from 1862-1873;<sup>1</sup> and another Moslem insurgence occurred in Sinkiang between 1864-1877. All these brought major disasters and not a little humiliation to China, including its ruler and people.

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<sup>1</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China*. (New York, 1970), p. 270.

## The response to the West

However, the Opium War from 1839 to 1842 occurred earlier than these domestic rebellions, which happened after 1850. Thus first we should review how Ch'ing China responded to the threat from the West. Basically we can perhaps divide this into two stages to consider, the first being the Opium War (the First Anglo-Chinese War of 1839-1842)<sup>2</sup> and the second the Arrow War (the Second Opium War or the War of Anglo-French Allies against China in 1856-1860). It was clear that China chose the policy of 'combat'<sup>3</sup> to resist Western expansion in the formative phase.

The Ch'ing court, political leaders in the government, and also scholars, could not imagine that China had any ability to confront the West. Some things were obvious to China, as Immanuel C.Y. Hsu says:

... the incompatibility of the Chinese claim to universal overlordship with the Western idea of national sovereignty; the conflict between the Chinese system of tributary relationship and the Western system of diplomatic intercourse; and the confrontation between self-sufficient, agrarian China and expansive, industrial Britain ....The power generated from the industrial Revolution and the idea of progress through change propelled the West into overseas expansion.<sup>4</sup>

Thus to China there was no way to stop the new trend. However, in order to retain the tributary system, the anti-opium policy and to exclude Western expansion, the Ch'ing court assigned the commissioner Lin Tse-Hsu (1785-1850) to Canton to take charge of the whole situation and deal with Britain. Unfortunately the Opium War finally broke out and China was inevitably defeated.

As a result of the First Opium War, the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 and the Supplementary Treaty of Hu-men-chai ('The Bogue') were concluded between China and Britain. Apart from the indemnity of \$21 million for military expenses and the cost of opium, opening five ports (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai), and the cession of Hong Kong, China conceded certain powers of sovereignty, mainly

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<sup>2</sup> The First Opium War (1839-1842) was a conflict between Britain and China. Britain fought over commercial rights, especially for opium selling in China, and China fought to terminate opium use. In the end the British were victorious.

<sup>3</sup> Generally, I agree with H.B. Morse's opinion that China had shown three stages in dealing with the West: combat (1834-1860), submission (1861-1893), and subjection (1894-1911). See Rozman, Gilbert (Ed), *The Modernization of China*. (New York, 1981), p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), p. 240.

including the fixed tariff, extraterritoriality, and the most-favored-nation to Britain. In the years following the bitter experience of the Opium War, Ch'ing China was anxious to avoid new conflicts in order to retain its Manchu imperial sovereignty, so it satisfied the demands from other Western countries that followed the British. China passively signed the Treaty of Wanghsia with America in 1844 and the Treaty of Whampoa with the French in 1844, through diplomatic negotiation. This was the beginning of the 'unequal treaties' being introduced to China and bringing humiliation to the Chinese people for over a century.

After the First Opium War, the Ch'ing court dispatched a commissioner, Ch'i-ying (the signer of China's first treaties with the West), to deal with foreign affairs, by means of a "policy of friendship and personal diplomacy, and every effort was made to impress the foreign representatives of his sincerity, trustworthiness, and cooperation."<sup>5</sup> During his tenure of office from 1843 to 1848, he successfully maintained relative peace and order in China's foreign relations.

However, on account of the 'Canton City Question'<sup>6</sup> and the death of Emperor Tao-Kuang (1782-1850, r. 1821-1850), his son Emperor Hsien-Feng (1831-1861) adopted a more uncompromising policy than had his father against the West. Also, under the 1844 treaties with the Americans and the French, which included a revision after twelve years of the date of signing, the West made more aggressive demands, such as tariff revision, establishing diplomatic embassies in Peking, opening Tientsin port for trade, and bestowing on foreigners the right to buy land inland. Certainly the Court refused these demands which it thought unreasonable, but by taking advantage of the 'Arrow Incident'<sup>7</sup> in 1856, Britain launched the Arrow War (also called the Second Opium War). Meanwhile, owing to the murder of a missionary, Abbé Auguste Chapdelaine in Kwangsi province, the French government decided to dispatch an expedition to China, and thus the Anglo-French Alliance was formed and the French became involved in the war.

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<sup>5</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), p. 244.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 248-253. According to the Nanking Treaty, the British were given the right to enter the walled city area of the port of Canton, but the residents in the city resisted firmly and even caused confrontations. Thus the 'Canton city question' became a point of disruptive contention between China and Britain (from 1843-1856).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 253-254. The Arrow War originally was a conflict between Britain and China caused by an incident when the Hong Kong-registered ship Arrow, flying the British flag, was boarded near Canton, and a Chinese officer boarded and arrested most of the crew for piracy. Thus, to avenge this unfriendly act, British warships and troops attacked Canton. In the meantime, the murder of a French missionary Abbé Auguste Chapdelaine in Kwangsi province caused a French force to join the war with the British and soon the allied forces proceeded north, finally threatening Peking. This is also called the Second Opium War (1856-1860).

As a result of the Second Opium War, and the subsequent Treaty of Tientsin in 1858 and the Convention of Peking in 1860 (with the British and French), China submitted to the 'Allied Forces' in promising to open ten new ports for trade (Map 7),<sup>8</sup> foreign travel was permitted nationwide, inland transit dues were reduced to less than 2.5%, and freedom of movement for missionaries was allowed. What is more, the Supplementary Treaty of Peking was signed on November 14 1860, and China rewarded Russia for its help<sup>9</sup> by conceding 300,000-400,000 square miles of territory, opening Urga (Ulan Bator, the Capital of the Mongolian People's Republic today) and Kashgar (in Singkiang province) for trade, consulates and residence for Russians as well as the most-favored-nation treatment. The second treaty system changed China's attitude from 'combat' to 'submission' to the West. China totally lost its national pride and suffered more seriously than before. As a result, the nation gradually woke up and recognized it had no ability to confront the West through its backward military power, and it had to use other means to conduct foreign relationships.

### **Response to the domestic situation**

Secondly, we should re-examine how Ch'ing China responded to its serious domestic situation in this phase. As mentioned in Chapter Two, social upheaval was caused by natural disasters, population pressure, and social and economic problems. In addition, the Opium Wars damaged its economic structure and caused a financial deficit; political corruption made the administration inefficient and all these made China face the downfall of its dynasty. In particular, the central military could not meet the double challenge coming from internal rebellions and external threats because of its decay and weakness. The domestic situation became more and more serious and rebellions occurred across the whole nation such as the Taiping Rebellion, the Nien Rebellion, the Moslem Rebellion and the Tungan Rebellion in the northwest. Neither central nor local governments undertook any domestic reform, nor were they able to cope with these rebellions efficiently.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the new militias called *t'uan lien* were established in

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 266.

<sup>9</sup> In the Second Opium War, the Anglo-French allied forces attacked Peking, and drove the emperor to seek a refuge in Jehol, Manchuria. In these critical days in 1860, the Russian ambassador Nikolai Ignatiev played an active role as mediator between the Anglo-French plenipotentiaries and Prince Kung, who was in charge of the peace settlement. And after the peace settlement the allied troops, urged by the Russian diplomat, left Peking; Russia demanded a reward for his mediation in new territorial concessions plus impressive commercial concessions. Moreover as a most-favored-nation, Russia also shared the benefits of the British and French share in the treaties. See Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), pp. 263-268.

the provinces to replace the role of the Banner Forces and the Green Standard as the national armed forces. Based on the *t'uan lien* regional forces, Tseng Kuo-Fan (1811-1872) established the Hunan Army in 1852, by which the Ch'ing could smash the Taiping Rebellion in 1864. As well, his main subordinates were active: Li Hung-Chang (1823-1901) later built up the Anhwei Army in 1862 (finally becoming the national force), and Tso Tsung-T'ang (1812-1885), who was the successor to Tseng Kuo-Fan in leading the Hunan Army, subsequently subjugated the Western band of the Nien Rebellion in 1868, the Moslem Rebellion in 1873, and restored order to Singkiang in 1877. These figures were intellectual and gentry-type bureaucrats and, besides suppressing internal insurgencies, all played leading roles in the later Self-Strengthening Movement (this period of time also called 'T'ung-Chih Restoration').

Therefore we can detect here a historical turning point that was not only the beginning of the Chinese military system's transfer from centrally-controlled bureaucratization to regionalism, but also has two other implications: one was the governmental power transferring from the Manchus to the Han Chinese; the other was in terms of the growing power of provincial officials who were involved in national affairs more and more deeply afterwards. Furthermore these leaders such as Tseng Kuo-Fan, Tso Tsung-T'ang, and Li Hung-Chang, in subjugating these domestic rebellions, became the leaders of the Self-Strengthening Movement, by which they enforced a series of reforms within the next operational phase (1860-1895) in China.

### **3.1.2. Japan**

Concerning Japan, I defined the formative phase of its modernization from 1853, the year the U.S. East India Squadron commanded by Commodore Matthew Perry called at Uraga. The event was an important landmark in Japan's pre-modern history and some scholars even consider it the starting point of Japan's modernization. However, the news of China's defeat in the Opium War and the Nanking Treaty with the British in 1842 shocked Japan deeply. From then on, the Tokugawa Shogunate and powerful daimyō launched a series of reforms. Thus to be precise, it might be argued that Japan started its formative modernization phase at approximately the same time as China or sooner, after the end of the First Opium War. In order to reflect on the historical facts during this period of time, we should consider what Japan did in response to the potential threat from the West from around 1840.

## Response to the West

Basically, the shogunate learned from the experience of the Opium War and perceived clearly that it was not capable of confronting the West by force, but must compromise with it. Thus in 1842 the shogunate issued the 'Order of Supplying Food and Water to the West' (*shinsui kyūyorei* 薪水給与令) to replace the 'Order of Expulsion' (*ikokusen uchiharairei* 異国船打払令). Soon, due to the signing in 1854 of the Kanagawa Treaty<sup>10</sup> (Treaty of Peace and Amity between the U.S. and the Empire of Japan), Japan opened the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate, gave the privileges of the most-favored-nation treatment, and permitted a consulate in Shimoda to the U.S. This was the first unequal treaty with the West and it destroyed the national policy of seclusion held until then. The other Western nations of Russia, Britain, and France followed in the steps of the U.S.A. and asked Japan to sign the 'Treaties of Peace and Amity' in the same year.

Consequently, the U.S.A. and the other Western nations demanded the amending of the treaty and required more conditions such as the opening of Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyōgo; permitting free trading; permitting foreigner residence in Osaka and Edo; negotiating tariffs; conceding extraterritoriality, and the like. Meanwhile, although some outside daimyō from Chōshū, Satsuma, Tosa, Uwajima and Tokushima advocated an 'expel the barbarian' (*jōi* 攘夷) policy, a leader in the Tokugawa government, Ii Naosuke (1815-1860), insisted on compromise with the West in order to avoid war. As a result, the so-called Ansei Commercial Treaties were concluded with the same five nations in 1858.<sup>11</sup>

However, those daimyō such as from Chōshū and Satsuma still persisted in their anti-foreign attitude to the West and, as a result, caused the war between Satsuma and Britain in 1863. In revenge for the 'Event of *Namamugi*' 生麦事件,<sup>12</sup> in which four British were killed in 1862, seven British ships bombarded the port of Kagoshima in what was called the *Satsuei sensō* 薩英戦争 (the Anglo-Satsuma War) in 1863. Later, the 'Event of an Artillery Bombardment on Shimonoseki' (*Shikokurengōkantai Shimonosekihōgeki* 四国連合艦隊下関砲撃) happened in 1864 when a combined fleet

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<sup>10</sup> Miyahara Takeo 宮原武夫eds., *Nihon no rekishi* 日本の歴史 (*Japanese History*), (Tokyo, 1989), p.134.

<sup>11</sup> Kawai, Atsushi河合 敦. *Hayawakari Nihon kingendaishi* 早わかり 日本近現代史(*Japanese Pre-modern and Modern History*). (Tokyo, 2001) p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> The Event of *Namamugi* 生麦事件 happened in 1862, when four British riding in the hills behind Yokohama were attacked by samurai in the procession of the daimyō of Satsuma. See Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *Japan: Tradition & Transformation*. (Sydney, 1979), pp. 121-122.



of seventeen British, French, Dutch, and American ships destroyed the forts at Shimonoseki.<sup>13</sup> Both episodes made these powerful daimyō re-consider their policy towards the West and finally they perceived it was impossible to ‘expel the barbarians’ by means of the military. Gradually they formed an allied relationship called *Sa-Chō rengō* 薩長連合 in order to topple the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1866.<sup>14</sup>

At the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate there were two streams of national policy towards the West. One was the compromise adopted by the shogunate, the other was the exclusion advocated by daimyō such as from Chōshū and Mito. The following numbers show how many daimyō changed their attitude towards the West in a decade from that of expelling to an opening policy.<sup>15</sup>

Year	Numbers agreeing with the opening policy	Numbers agreeing with the ‘expel the barbarian’ policy	Numbers having no views about this issue
The Kanagawa Treaty in 1853	16	34	4
The Ansei Commercial Treaties in 1858	20	7	7

According to this table, adopting an opening policy by the daimyō became the main stream.

Moreover, from 1860 to 1867 the shogunate, despite its official policy stating it was illegal to send students overseas, dispatched in total 153 students to study abroad. They studied chiefly aspects of technology and science, including medicine, astronomy, navigation, gunnery, military skills and Western affairs.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.129.

<sup>14</sup> We should note that at the very beginning, Chōshū was the leading domain in the advocacy of ‘revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians’, while by contrast, even though Satsuma advocated ‘expel the barbarians’, it still supported the policy of the union of the Imperial Court and the shogunate (also called *kōbugattai* 公武合体派): in other words it still supported the shogunate system but asked for some needed reforms. However, when both found that the shogunate had no ability to cope with the West, they then established an alliance union to confront the shogunate. See Ishii Susumu 石井 進, eds. 詳説日本史 *Shōseitsu Nihonshi (A Detailed Japanese History)*. (Tokyo, 2000), pp. 231-235.

<sup>15</sup> Hamashima, Masaaki 浜島 正昭 eds. *Shinshō Nihonshizusetsu* 新詳日本史図説 *New Vision of Japanese History*. (Tokyo, 1998), p. 160.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 164. And also see Chapter Seven: The First Japanese Students Overseas 1862-1868 in Beasley, W.G. *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travelers in America and Europe*. (U.S.A., 1995), pp. 119-138.

Year	The shogunate	Daimyō	In private	Obscurity	Total
1860				1	1
1862	15				15
1863		5			5
1864	1		1		2
1865	8	19	1	1	29
1866	16	11	3	1	31
1867	27	21	1	2	51
Obscurity	1	4	1	13	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>153</b>

Moreover, diplomatic interactions by the shogunate with the Western nations were frequent, such as missions to the U.S.A. twice in 1860,<sup>17</sup> as well as the mission to Europe in 1862.<sup>18</sup> Shibata Takenaka was the Japanese envoy to the French in 1865,<sup>19</sup> and the Satsuma daimyō also sent a mission to Europe in 1865.<sup>20</sup>

All these important practices show that Japan was proceeding on the way to modernization in this phase.

### Response to the domestic situation

Before studying how Japan responded to the domestic situation, it is necessary to quickly review the history of the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Basically this timing could probably be divided into three stages.<sup>21</sup>

The first one was from 1850 to 1860 when there was political strife between two factions in the government. One was the *Nanki* faction 南紀派 led by Ii Naosuke (a leader in the shogunate) and other fudai daimyō in support of Tokugawa Yoshitomi (1846-1866) as successor the 14<sup>th</sup> office of shogun. It also favoured an open national policy (*kaikokuron* 開国論). The opposed faction was the *Hitotsubashi* faction 一橋派, mainly endorsed by Mito, Satsuma, Uwashima, Tosa, and Etsumai daimyō in support of Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837-1913) as the next shogun. They advocated the 'revere

<sup>17</sup> Beasley, W.G. *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travelers in America and Europe*. (U.S.A., 1995), Chapter Four: The Mission to America, 1860. pp. 56-70.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Chapter Five: The Mission to Europe, 1862.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., Chapter Six: Envoys and Industry, 1865-1867.

<sup>20</sup> Idem.

<sup>21</sup> Kawai, Atsushi 河合 敦, *Hayawakari Nihon kingendaishi* 早わかり 日本近現代史 (*Japanese Pre-modern and Modern History*). (Tokyo, 2001), pp. 26-27.

the Emperor and expel the barbarians' policy (*Sonnō jōi* 尊王攘夷).<sup>22</sup> The Nanki faction won this confrontation and brought about the Ansei Punishment (*Ansei no taigoku* 安政の大獄 1858-1859),<sup>23</sup> with the result that the leader of the shogunate, Ii Naosuke, was assassinated by Mito samurai at the Sakuradamongai (called the Incident of Sakurada mongai 桜田門外の変) in 1860. This showed that the shogunate's power gradually faded away in this period.

The second stage was from 1860 to 1864, namely the struggle between the two factions: *kōbugattai* 公武合体派<sup>24</sup> (in advocacy of the union of the shogunate and the imperial court, supported by the shogunate and fudai daimyō) and the opposed *Sonnō jōi* 尊王攘夷派 (mainly Chōshū men). During this time, the leader of the shogunate, Andō Nobumasa, was assassinated at Sakashitamongai (called the Incident of Sakashitamongai 坂下門外の変) in 1862.<sup>25</sup> Later on several attempted coups d'état happened such as that of 18 October 1863 八月十八日の政変,<sup>26</sup> the Incident of Ikedaya 池田屋事件<sup>27</sup> and the Incident of Kinmon 禁門の変<sup>28</sup> in 1864. As well, insurgencies such as *Ikuno no hen* 生野の変<sup>29</sup> in 1863 and *Tengutō no ran* 天狗党の乱<sup>30</sup> in 1864 occurred. These incidents revealed that the shogunate was struggling to retain its unstable regime.

During the third stage, from 1865 to 1868, the shogunate was in its last struggle against the Sa-Chō Union (Satsuma and Chōshū were united in 1866). The Second Suppressing of the Chōshū Samurai in 1866 in particular showed that the shogunate was unable to give orders to daimyō, and moreover shogunal troops were defeated by the Chōshū. The shogunate was no longer able to carry out the role of central government. The last shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu (the 15<sup>th</sup> shogun) perceived this situation clearly and made the most important decision of 'Restoration of Power to the Emperor (*taisei hōkan* 大政奉還)' on the historic date of October 14 1867.<sup>31</sup> Following this, inevitably a series of wars (called generally the Boshin War (*Boshinsensō* 戊辰戦

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<sup>22</sup> It is noticeable that the Satsuma daimyō, Shimazu Nariakira (1809-1858), preferred to support the opening policy because he knew Japan had to learn Western technology and science at the very beginning.

<sup>23</sup> Ishii, Kanji 石井 寛治, *Daikoku Nihon no rekishi: Kaikoku to ishin* 大系日本の歴史：開国と維新, Vol. 12 (*Outline of Japanese History: Opening Nation and Restoration*, v. 12). (Tokyo, 1993), pp.75-77.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 64-67.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 125-129.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 143-145.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 146-148.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 140-142.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 142-143.

<sup>31</sup> Kawai, Atsushi 河合 敦. *Hayawakari Nihon kingendaishi* 早わかり 日本近現代史 (*Japanese Pre-modern and Modern History*). (Tokyo, 2001), pp. 32-33.

争)<sup>32</sup> occurred in 1868, but in order to avoid complete civil war and the nation falling into disintegration again, another great decision was made by the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu to open the Gates of Edo without resistance (*Edo muketsukaijō* 江戸無血開城) in April 1868. Thus the era of shogunate-style government, handed down over seven hundred years, was terminated and brought about the occurrence of the Meiji Restoration.

I return now to the question of response.

Although the whole nation was in an unstable situation at the end of the Tokugawa Period, the shogunate launched a series of reforms at this stage. For instance, the *Tempō* Reform 天保の改革 (1841-1843),<sup>33</sup> initiated by Mizuno Tadakuni, aimed at stabilizing policy in finance, improving the commercial system, agricultural reconstructions, a new policy of maritime defence (such as issuing *shinsui kyūyorei* 薪水給与令 and adopting western gunnery etc), exploring new enterprises and such like. The *Ansei* Reform 安政の改革 (1853-1857),<sup>34</sup> initiated by Abe Masahiro, included reform in sharing the national power with the court and daimyō (such as restoring diplomatic power to the emperor and permitting the powerful daimyō to participate in making national policies), promoting talented people to the government and adopting new national defence policies (such as establishing the translation school '*banshoshirabesho* 番書調所' for teaching Western knowledge and translating diplomatic documents and the military school '*kōbusho* 講武所' at Edo, the Naval school '*kaigun denshūsho* 海軍伝習所' at Nagasaki, manufacturing Western gunnery, and lifting the ban on building large vessels.

In the *Bunkyū* Reform 文久の改革 (1862),<sup>35</sup> the court demanded that the shogunate should amend some policies including some pertaining to the Tokugawa Shogunate itself, changing the *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 (alternate attendance) into something more flexible, adopting Western-style army organization, renaming *banshoshirabesho* 番書調所 to *Yōshoshirabesho* 洋書調所 (1862, later called *Kaiseisho* 開成所 in 1863) and governmental dispatching of students and other individuals abroad (e.g. Enomoto Takeaki 1836-1908 榎本武揚 and Nishi Amane 1829-1897 西周 to Holland).

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<sup>32</sup> The Boshin War (*Boshinsensō* 戊辰戦争) started from the War of Toba-Fushimi 鳥羽と伏見の戦い (in January 1868), then across the War of Shōgitai 彰義隊の戦い (in May 1868), the War of Nagaokajō 長岡城の戦い (from May to July 1868), the War of Aizu 会津の戦い (from August to September 1868), till the last War of Goryōkaku 五稜郭の戦い in Hokkaidō (in May 1869), the timing in total extending over one year. See Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱芳明, eds. (Tokyo, 2001), p. 161.

<sup>33</sup> Hamashima, Mashiaki 浜島 正昭, (Tokyo, 1998), p. 152.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.160.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.161.

As well, it should be acknowledged that the shogunate had made a great effort in education. In order to introduce Western knowledge of science, technology, medicine, and so forth, it established the *Shutōkan* 種痘館 (the Vaccination Institution) in 1858, later changed to *Igakkō* 医学校 (Medicine School) in 1868, renovated the *Kaiseisho* 開成所 to *Kaiseigakkō* 開成学校 (Kaisei School) in 1868; and established the *Shōheigakkō* 昌平学校 (Shōhei School) in 1868. Finally these merged to form the so-called *Daigakkō* 大学校 (University) in 1869,<sup>36</sup> which was the antecedent of Tokyo Imperial University (established by the Meiji government in 1877).

In short it was clear that the Tokugawa Shogunate intended to carry out reforms in order to maintain its regime during this stage.

At the same time, the regional daimyō also carried out political reforms in their domains and tried to make themselves more powerful. For instance, the reforms in the Tosa-dominated court led by Yamanouchi Toyoshige (1827-1872) included the importing of Western weapons and the reforming of internal affairs. In the Chōshū-dominated court led by Mōri Takachika (1819-1871) reforms included adopting Western learning and military buildup, and monopolies on the sale of paper and wax. In the Uwajima-dominated court led by Date Munenari (1818-1892) reforms included investing in new industries, promoting education, introducing Western weapons, and building steam warships.<sup>37</sup>

Some daimyō emphasized their reforms through education in order to renew their military capability and introduce Western manufacturing skills, such as<sup>38</sup> in the Akita domain where the lord Satake Yoshimasa established the *Meitokukan* 明德館, in the Mito domain where the lord Tokugawa Nariaki (1800-1860) established the *Kōdōkan* 弘道館 in 1841; in the Satsuma domain where the lord Shimazu Nariakira (1809-1858) founded the *Shūseikan* 集成館 in 1852; and in the Higo domain where the lord Hosogawa Shigekata established the *Jishūkan* 時習館. All enlightened daimyō tried to learn new knowledge and technology and prepared to introduce Western manufacturing skills, military weapons and organization, education etc, to their domain, and in so doing facilitated Japan's progress from the feudal system to modernization.

Apart from the official schools, private village schools were set up, such as the

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<sup>36</sup> Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱芳明, eds. (Tokyo, 2001), P. 155.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.150.

<sup>38</sup> Idem.

*Tekijuku* 適塾 founded by Ogata Kōan in 1838 (the famous student Fukuzawa Yukichi had attended in this school), and the *Shōkasonjuku* 松下村塾 founded by Yoshida Nagayoshi in 1842.<sup>39</sup> Long-existing schools such as *Shirandō* 芝蘭堂 (set up in 1789) and *Narutakijuku* 鳴滝塾 (set up in 1824) also offered the opportunity to those samurai passionate to learn about Western knowledge and current news. The educational system played a big part in raising talented people for the future

Furthermore, educated intelligentsia in the samurai class put a great deal of effort into teaching people the new thinking and current affairs in the West, and/or suggested ways of reforming the government in order to strengthen it in responding to the current situation. Famous examples included the distinguished samurai Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901), who accompanied Katsu Kaishū (1823-1899) on board the vessel *Kanrin Maru* 咸臨丸 to the U.S.A. in 1860, and also participated in the Takenouchi (竹内保徳) Mission to Europe. After observing the West he compiled *Current Events in the West* (*Seiyō jijō* 西洋事情) in 1866 for teaching commoners, and established *Keiō gijuku* 慶応義塾 (the predecessor of the Keiō University) to educate talented people. Sakamoto Ryōma (1835-1867) and Kotō Shōjirō (1838-1897) offered the so-called 'Eight Suggestions' (*senchū hassaku* 船中八策) to the lord of the Tosa-dominated court, Yamanouchi Toyoshige, and asked him to transfer these opinions to the shogunate. They comprised eight items such as restoration of power to the emperor, establishing a parliamentary system, renovating the bureaucratic system, adopting a new diplomatic policy, codifying the law system, expanding the naval forces, establishing a guarding force for the emperor, and keeping the monetary system in good order. The elites in society were positively broadcasting the idea of modernization to the general public as well as to their fellow elites.

All the above facts show that the whole national machine of Japan, including the central government of the shogunate, the powerful daimyō and the intelligentsia in the samurai class, had learnt that a new era was coming. They perceived that Japan should give up the policy of 'expel the barbarians' and learn from the West; otherwise they faced a colonized or an extinguished future.

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<sup>39</sup> Hamashima, Mashiaki 浜島正昭, ed. (Tokyo, 1998), p. 156.

## 3.2. What had been learnt by both nations at this stage?

### 3.2.1. China

In general Ch'ing China did not learn anything from the first Opium War and refused to recognize its backwardness, especially in the political, military, industrial, and commercial fields, but thought 'defeat was only an accident'. Only a few, such as the Commissioner Lin Tse-Hsu, the scholar in the School of 'statecraft' (see Chapter Two), Wei-Yuan (also called Mo-Shen, 1794-1856), and the governor of Fukien province, Hsu Chi-Yu, had been able to realize Western dominance and that China needed to learn about the West.

Comparatively, Lin probably understood the West more deeply than anyone at that time. Because he wanted more information about the enemy, the Western barbarians, under his sponsorship his subordinates collected Western geography, history, politics and laws and translated foreign newspapers from India, Singapore, and Macao. Furthermore, in order to teach the government, they compiled *A Gazetteer of Four Countries* (*Su-chou chih* 四洲志), which was an amalgated work translated partly from both the international law of Vattel and Murray's *Cyclopedia of Geography*. Unfortunately Lin was dismissed soon after the outbreaking of the Opium War in September 1840 and could then do nothing in national affairs.

Also, the scholar Wei-Yuan compiled a famous book entitled *Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries* (*Hai-kou t'u-chih* 海國圖誌) in 1844 and the governor Hsu Chi-Yu compiled *A Brief Survey of the Maritime Circuit* (*Ying-huan chih-lueh* 瀛環志略) in 1850, both trying to put a big effort into Western studies in China at that time.<sup>40</sup> In particular, the former was an important documentary work which introduced in detail the history, geography and current political situation of the West; the manufacture and usage of foreign gunnery; shipbuilding, mining, and practical arts being developed in the West; and how to deal with the West. The core message in this book was to "learn the superior techniques of the barbarians to control the barbarians."<sup>41</sup> However, the government still had no such awareness and allowed the whole nation to waste nearly all the following two decades without carrying out any reforms.

After defeat in the Second Opium War in 1860 the shock of two defeats gave a sharp wake-up to the court, officialdom and the intelligentsia. The famous scholar Feng

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<sup>40</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), p. 241.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 335.

Kuei-Fen (1809-1874) issued *Protest from the Chiao-Pin Studio* (*Chiao-pin-lu Kang-I 校邠廬抗議*) in 1860 to advocate promotion of the Self-Strengthening Movement for learning from the West. From 1861, China changed its tactics from combat against to submission to the West by establishing the Tsungli Yamen 總理衙門 to oversee diplomatic affairs.<sup>42</sup>

### 3.2.2. Japan

The defeat of Ch'ing China in the Opium War in 1842 greatly surprised Japan. Moreover, some powerful daimyō tried to use military tactics against the West and all were defeated: for example, the Anglo-Satsuma War in 1863 and the Incident of an Artillery Bombardment at Shimonoseki in Chōshū in 1864. This made the leaders, both in the shogunate and amongst the daimyō, have a clear view that any attempt to use the military to confront the threats from the West was in vain. Japan had learnt not only to compromise with its threateners, but it also had to learn Western science and technology; otherwise Japan would probably follow Ch'ing China and suffer defeats time after time by the West.

Secondly, concerning Western learning, as mentioned earlier both the central government of the shogunate and the daimyō cared about education and started to establish or renovate these schools in order to introduce Western knowledge, science, technology, medicine and military. The shogunate established the Medicine School, and renovated the Kaisei School 開成 and the Shōhei School 昌平. Finally it merged these schools together to form the Daigakkō 大学校 (the University), which made a foundation for the Tokyo Imperial University. As well, it instituted a military academy and a naval academy and tried to introduce Western military thought, tactics and strategy, organization, and training techniques. Through daimyō the school of *Kōdōkan* was established in the Mito domain, the *Shūseikan* in the Satsuma domain, the *Jishūkan* in the Kumamoto domain and the *Meitokukan* in the Akita domain. As well, private village schools such as *Tekijuku*, *Shōkasonjuku*, *Shirandō* and *Narutakijuku* taught people Western knowledge and current affairs. It was obvious that the upper class of the ruling system were aware of the importance of education so they tried to nurture talented people for the future

Thirdly both the shogunate and the daimyō had perceived that it was a short cut to

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<sup>42</sup> Kim, K.H. *Japanese Perspectives on China's Early Modernization: The Self-Strengthening Movement, 1860-1895, a Bibliographical Survey*. (The University of Michigan, Center of Chinese Study, 1974), pp. 4-5.



send students overseas to learn science, technology and military skills from the West. How wise it was, a hundred and fifty years ago, for Japan to send students abroad to learn from the West. For one thing, those key figures among the overseas students could play important roles later in the Meiji Period. These included Itō Hirobumi (sent to Britain by Chōshū, 1841-1909), Inoue Kaoru (sent to Britain by Chōshū, 1835-1915), Katsura Tarō (sent to Germany, 1847-1913), Godai Tomoatsu (sent to Britain by Satsuma 1835-1885), Enomoto Takeaki (sent to Holland by the shogunate, 1836-1908), and Katsu Kaishū (sent to Holland by the shogunate, 1823-1899).

Consequently, it was with some justification said that those leaders had the political wisdom to deal with the West by means of diplomatic negotiation. The central government, the shogunate and the local governments both had dispatched diplomatic missions time after time to the West. These practices had important implications: for instance, the shogunate intended to secure better access to relevant skills in France and sent Shibata Takenaka to Paris for trade concessions in 1865; soon in return, France agreed to send military advisers to train the shogun's army as well as naval engineers to build a dockyard at Yokosuka. Satsuma sent a mission to Europe in 1862 to develop the domain's trade and industry, but also for the real purpose of importing ships and guns.<sup>43</sup> Thus dispatching diplomatic missions to foreign countries could produce many benefits, including building formal relations, settling disputes and avoiding wars, promoting trade and industry, introducing Western science, technology and military skills, and sharing information with these Western powers.

Finally we should be aware that competition among these powerful daimyō and the struggle between the shogunate and daimyō made them launch a certain degree of political and economic reforms in order to secure power over the others. However, nonetheless all these reforms by both the shogunate and the daimyō established a solid foundation for Japan's modernization in the formative phase.

### **3.3. Analysis:**

It was interesting that within the formative phase both China and Japan faced rebellions and natural calamities internally and threats from outside. However, after comparing them in this stage, it is possible to judge whether China or Japan undertook the best policies for survival in modernization.

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<sup>43</sup> Beasley, W.G., *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travelers in America and Europe*. (U.S.A., 1995), p. 95-96.

1. Concerning the timing, without doubt, China was the first to use its backward military power to resist the threats of the West, but the top leaders in the central government learned nothing until the end of the Second Opium War in 1860. By contrast, as the later one, Japan was different from China, as it had more time to observe and learn what was happening and where Japan's future was. Japan realized that it had to take 'the policy of compromise' in place of 'the policy of confrontation' in order to earn more time for undertaking reforms.
2. In comparing these leaders of central and local government within both nations, China only had a few people, such as the commissioner Lin Tse-Hsu, the governor of Fukien province, Hsu Chi-Yu, and the scholar Wei-Yuan who could recognize the contemporary situation, but were not policy-making figures. However the Ch'ing Court knew nothing about how to cope with the current issues. By contrast, in Japan those policy-making figures included the sponsors Abe Masahiro (1810-1857) and Ii Naosuke in the shogunate and feudal lords Tokugawa Nariaki in Mito, Yamanouchi Toyoshige in Tosa, Mōri Takachika in Chōshū, Shimazura Nariakira (1809-1858) in Satsuma and Date Munenari in Uwajima among the daimyō as well as a great number of talented samurai such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Sakamoto Ryōma (1835-1867), and the so-called 'Three Remarkable Figures' of Saigō Takamori (1827-1877), Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830-1878) and Kido Takayoshi (1833- 1877). They all played important roles in creating a solid foundation for Japan's modernization. Thus to compare both leaders in the two governments at that time, those in Japan were much more sensitive and practical than those in China at perceiving that the new era was coming and preparing to respond to the new challenges.
3. To compare responses to the West, as mentioned above China simply tried to use the military to confront the threats from outside but Japan was much wiser and had the sense to start dispatching missions and students overseas. This was because 'the best policy to settle problems is to understand the real situation'. Thus by means of dispatching missions and students, Japan was able to thoroughly learn the real West and receive advantages such as building formal diplomatic relations, settling disputes and avoiding wars, promoting trade and industry, introducing Western science, technology and military skills, and collecting information from the West.

4. Concerning responses to domestic troubles, until 1860 China did not undertake any reforms but merely subjugated the rebellions by using the military. But in Japan both the central and local governments launched a series of political and economic reforms, which included importing Western manufacturing and military skills, in order to secure dominant power over the other. This was able to stimulate the central and local governments to adopt new policies to meet the needs at that time. In particular, Japan was eager to set up new Western learning schools by the shogunate, daimyō and private individuals. Through educational methods, many talented people were well educated for the needs of the next historical and remarkable stage – the Meiji Restoration.



### 3.4. Conclusion:

It is very clear that in the formative phase, in China the political figures both in the court and provinces knew little and did nothing to respond to threats coming from within and outside; however, Japan prepared itself to launch a series of actions to meet the challenges. The Tokugawa Shogunate, powerful daimyō and passionate samurai scattered around the whole country all had a deep sense of crisis, and they had precisely recognized the real contemporary situation – a new era was coming. Therefore they used a range of horizontally structured methods from diplomacy to internal affairs which included dispatching missions and students abroad for knowledge, technology and new information about the West; renewing education from traditional to the new Western learning; importing Western-style military organization, training, tactics and strategy, gunnery and the manufacturing skills; and other reforms of the economy and internal affairs. In Japan the whole national machine was ready to be involved in modernizing reforms while the last Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu announced the Restoration of Power to the Emperor (*taisei hōkan* 大政奉還) on October 14 1867 as well as making the wise decision to open the Gates of Edo without resistance (*Edo muketsukaijō* 江戸無血開城) in the April of 1868. From then on, Japan faced the most remarkable turning point in its history, when the Meiji Restoration made its debut on the historical stage.

## Chapter Four:

### Comparison and analysis of China and Japan in the operative phase

As indicated in Chapter Three, it is significant that China confronted the West primarily in military terms, whereas by contrast Japan not only learned to compromise but also had already launched a series of reforms nationwide during the formative phase and was readying itself for modernization.

However, after 1860 and the defeat in the Second Opium War (the Anglo-French War, also called the Arrow War 1858-1860), China began to wake up and knew that it probably could not resist the West by force any more. Thus in order to conduct foreign relations with the West, a special institution, namely the Tsungli Yamen 總理衙門, was established in the central government in 1861,<sup>1</sup> and soon afterwards a kind of modernization, the so-called Self-Strengthening Movement (*Tzu-ch'iang yun-tung* 自強運動) was launched in both central and provincial governments. In Japan, when the last shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu announced the Restoration of Power to the Emperor (*taisei hōkan* 大政奉還) on October 14 1867, a new era, heralded by the so-called Meiji Restoration, started the nation on its path to modernization.

To compare the modernizing processes in China and Japan in this operative phase probably is a key observation point as well as the core issue in the thesis, because in terms of comparison and analysis it is possible to judge which one was the more fitted since both nations had undertaken policies for their modernization. In addition, both nations pursued the goal of 'rich nation and strong army' (*fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵) at this stage.

In this chapter my study will focus on the kinds of reforms that were adopted by these two nations and compare the merits and demerits of their modernization reforms.

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<sup>1</sup> Kim, K.H. *Japanese Perspectives on China's Early Modernization: The Self-Strengthening Movement, 1860-1895, a Bibliographical Survey*. (The University of Michigan, Center of Chinese Study, 1974), p. 4.

## 4.1. How did these two nations set about their reforms at this stage?

### 4.1.1.China

China was under double pressure in this operative phase, both from within and without. Internally, as mentioned in the previous chapter, there were nation-wide insurgencies such as the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), the Nien Rebellion (1851-1868), the Moslem Rebellion in Yunnan (1855-1873), the Tungan Rebellion in the Northwest Region (1862-1873), and another Moslem insurgence in Sinkiang (1864-1877), insurgencies which nearly toppled the dynasty. Externally, there were the threats from the Powers (including Japan)<sup>2</sup> such as: the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1874; the Japanese annexation of the Liu-ch'iu Islands (known as the Ryukyu Islands by the Japanese) in 1879; the British intention to enter the Yunnan region in 1875; the Russian occupation of the Illi in Sinkiang 1871-1881; the French attempt to control Annam (today's Vietnam) and causing of the Sino-French War (1884-1885); and Japan's invasion of Korea and causing of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).

However, the emperor Hsien-Feng died in 1861 and named his 6 yr-old son Tsai-Ch'un as his heir, but a coup<sup>3</sup> happened in the same year. As a result, the two dowagers – the Western Dowager Tz'u-Hsi (see Figure 1) and the Eastern Dowager Tz'u-An – plus Prince Kung (1833-1898, see Figure 2) secured supreme power; and from then the little boy named T'ung-Chih (r.1862-1874) was used as a puppet and the so-called *ch'ui-lien t'ing-cheng* 垂簾聽政 ('listening and administering state affairs from behind a bamboo curtain')<sup>4</sup> was under way. With the support of the two dowagers a new political leader, Prince Kung in the central government, clearly perceived that a new era had come. China had to adopt the new policy of accommodation to the West by means of diplomatic methods in order to bring about a more peaceful time, so that it could undertake some reforms to reinforce its military power and refine industrial manufacturing. His advocacy was strongly supported by the Manchu Grand Councillor, Wen-Hsiang (1818-1876, see Figure 3), Kwei-Liang,

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<sup>2</sup> Japan intended to invade the Korean Peninsula, Liu-ch'iu Islands and Taiwan: the former two were tributary states and the latter was a province of China.

<sup>3</sup> In the coup of 1861, the old retainers of the emperor Hsien-Feng were defeated; the new group secured power; Empresses Dowager Tz'u-An, and Tz'u-Hsi became co-regents and Prince Kung became the prince counsellor to the young T'ung-Chih Emperor in the central government.

<sup>4</sup> *Ch'ui-lien t'ing-cheng* 垂簾聽政 means the two Dowagers who both sat behind a bamboo screen while administering state affairs and receiving ministerial reports, but most of the time the Western Dowager Tz'u-Hsi read memorials, asked questions and made decisions. See, Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China*. (New York, 1970), p. 322.

and other staff in the central government and several powerful provincial governors, such as Tseng Kuo-Fan (see Figure 4), Tso Tsung-T'ang (see Figure 5), Li Hung-Chang (see Figure 6) and Shen Pao-Chen (1820-1891) in the local governments as well. In the meantime, the main Western powers, Britain and the U.S.A., had a better understanding of this new attitude of these Chinese leaders and they preferred to champion a 'co-operative policy'<sup>5</sup> with China. Thus under this atmosphere of relative peace, harmony, and co-operation with the West, and with talented people in office in both the central and local governments, China could launch a major reform towards modernization, called the 'Self-Strengthening Movement'. This lasted until the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 when China was defeated and produced another new reform of sentiment. (A simple and plain illustration of the Self-Strengthening Movement is shown on Map 8.)<sup>6</sup>

The Self-Strengthening Movement in general could be divided into three stages<sup>7</sup> with the first stage from 1861 to 1874. The contemporary mainstream thought was, as stated in Li Hung-Chang's ministerial reports to Prince Kung, that: "In China, both political and military systems were superior to the West except for gunnery and gunboats."<sup>8</sup> Thus, the beginning of this reform focused on the introduction of Western science and technology and military manufacturing skills. The main points are as below.

- 1861 Establishment of the Tsungli Yamen overseeing diplomatic affairs, the Maritime Customs Service, and the introduction of Western science, industry, and communication.
- A new Superintendent of Trade (later called the High Commissioner for the Northern Ocean, *Pei-yang ta-ch'en* 北洋大臣) was established at Tientsin in charge of the trade affairs of three northern ports (Tientsin,

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 324, 'Cooperative Policy' contained four points that included supporting China to cooperate with Western powers; to cooperate with Chinese officials; to recognize China's legitimate interests; and to enforce the treaty rights from China.

<sup>6</sup> Schirokauer, *Modern China and Japan: A Brief History*. (New York, 1982), p. 160.

<sup>7</sup> There are some scholars such as Li, Shou-Kong, Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., and Kim, K.H. who claim that the Self-Strengthening Movement could be divided into three stages, but their timing of the stages differs somewhat. The contents of the Self-Strengthening Movement in different stages in this thesis were abstracted from these scholars' works. See Kim, K.H. *Introduction in Japanese Perspectives on China's Early Modernization: The Self-Strengthening Movement, 1860-1895, a Bibliographical Survey*. (The University of Michigan, Center of Chinese Study, 1974), pp. 3-12; Li, Shou-Kong 李守孔, *Chapter Nine in Zhong-guo Jin-dai-shi 中國近代史 (Chinese Modern History)* (Taipei, 1986), pp. 321-324; Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *Chapter Eleven in The Rise of Modern China*. (New York, 1970), pp. 342-347; and Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *East Asia: Tradition & Transformation, Revised Edition*, Chapter Nineteen: China's Response to the West. (Boston, 1989), pp. 558-596.

<sup>8</sup> Li, Shou-Kong 李守孔 (Taipei, 1986), p. 321.

Newchwang, and Chefoo) plus another Superintendent of Trade (later called the High Commissioner for the Southern Ocean, *Nan-yang ta-ch'en* 南洋大臣) was already stationed at Shanghai in charge of the trade affairs of five ports (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ninpo and Shanghai).

Feng Kuei-Fen issued Protest from the Chiao-Pin Studio (*Chiao-pin-lu Kang-I* 校邠廬抗議).

- 1862 Under the superintendence of the Tsungli Yamen, the language school called the *T'ung-wen kuan* 同文館 was established for training diplomatic personnel, translation, and introducing Western knowledge, including science, politics, economics, and international law. *T'ung-wen kuan* was the predecessor of Beijing University (it was called Imperial University in 1902).

Li Hung-Chang organized his new Anhwei Army; assigned his men to learn how to use cannon from British officers and rifles from German officers; and established three small arsenals in Shanghai.

- 1863 Li Hung-Chang established the Shanghai T'ung-wen Kuan.  
Tseng Kuo-Fan dispatched Yung-Wing to purchase machines.  
The Lay-Osborn Flotilla arrived in China but was soon dismissed.<sup>9</sup> Charles G. Gordon assumed command of the Ever-Victorious Army.

- 1864 The Canton T'ung-wen Kuan was established.  
Li Hung-Chang proposed a new category of technology in the government examination. He created a small gun factory at Soochow.  
The translation of Henry Wheaton's work, *Elements of International Law*, was submitted to the Tsungli Yamen; because with the introduction of International Law, China could apply it in combination with other measures of diplomatic modernization to maintain peaceful relations with the West for a period of time.

- 1865 The first demotion of Prince Kung.<sup>10</sup>  
Tseng Kuo-Fan and Li Hung-Chang cooperatively established the Kiang-Nan Arsenal with a translation bureau attached in Shanghai.  
The inspectorate of the Imperial Maritime Customs was formally

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<sup>9</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), pp. 335-336.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 369-370. Prince Kung was a younger brother of the late emperor Hsien-Feng (ruled 1851-1861). Through cooperation with the Empresses Dowager Tz'u-Hsi and Tz'u-An during the coup d'état of 1861, Prince Kung was promoted as the leader of the government. However, he was elated with success and drunk in the enjoyment of political power, his arrogance overrode his prudence, and even the Empresses Dowager found him overbearing during audiences. Thus the Dowagers decided to chastise him by removing him from all the posts in the government including the title of 'prince regent (*I-cheng wang* 議政王)'. After his sincere apologies, he regained some posts but not the title of 'prince regent' any more. Since then Prince Kung gradually lost his zeal in state affairs and became more restrained in conduct of state affairs.

established in Beijing under the Briton Robert Hart. He also assisted the Ch'ing government to develop mining, and in the construction of telegraph systems and railroads, and suggested sending diplomatic representatives abroad.

- 1866 Tso Tsung-T'ang established the Foochow Navy Yard and attached a navy school, by which Ch'ing China organized the Southern Ocean Navy in Fukien Province.  
An informal mission led by Pin-Ch'un left for Europe.
- 1867 Li Huang-Chang established the Nanking Arsenal by moving the one from Soochow.  
Ch'ung-Hou established the Tientsin Arsenal.
- 1868 Dispatch of the U.S.A.'s retired diplomat Anson Burlingame as China's roving ambassador to the West to assist China's two co-envoys.  
The Kiangnan Arsenal was expanded with another translation department.  
Young J Allen published the Church News (*Chiao-hui Hsin-Pao* 教會新報).  
Tso Tsung-T'ang was involved in the suppressing of the Moslem Rebellion in the Northwest and Sinkiang (1868-1880).
- 1869 The second demotion of Prince Kung marked the decline of his influence in the central government.<sup>11</sup>  
Tso Tsung-T'ang established an arsenal at Sian.  
Ying Kuei established an arsenal at Fukien.
- 1870 Li Huang-Chang became the official-governor-general of Chihli and soon expanded the Teintsin Arsenal into four factories.  
Wang T'ao began his journalism career in Hong Kong.
- 1871 Tso Tsung-T'ang established an arsenal at Lanchow.  
Planning took place for a Western-style fort at Taku.  
The second diplomatic apology mission was led by Ch'ung-Hou to France<sup>12</sup> and also visited the United States on the way home.
- 1872 Tseng Kuo-Fan died in this year. Li Huang-Chang became the central person of the Self-Strengthening Movement.  
Dispatch of thirty adolescent students to the U.S.A. to study. (The first group of the 120 students to be dispatched cumulatively from 1872-1881.)

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p370. Tz'u-Hsi complained about Prince Kung because she believed that in order to avenge the first demotion, Prince Kung was involved in a conspiracy, in which her indulged eunuch, An Te-Hai was beheaded as a punishment for misbehaviour. Since then she hardly trusted him after 1869.

<sup>12</sup> Owing to the Tientsin Massacre in 1870, the event was that ten sisters, two priests in a French church, and two French officials were killed; and others including three Russian traders were killed by mistake; and four British and American churches were destroyed. Thus China sent the mission to France to apologise. See Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), pp. 359-363, and Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *East Asia: Tradition & Transformation, Revised Edition*. (Boston, 1989), pp.566-567.



Li Huang-Chang established the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company. As well, he proposed to open coal and iron mines, and sent officers to Germany to study.

The *Shun-Pao* 申報, (the Shanghai News) was published in Shanghai.

- 1873 The emperor T'ung-Chih officially received foreign diplomats in the court for the first time.

The second stage of the Self-Strengthening Movement was from 1874 to 1884. Since in the central government Prince Kung had been demoted twice and the Grand Councillor Wen-Hsiang died in 1876, the provincial governors such as Tseng Kuo-Fan died in 1872, and Tso Tsung-T'ang was involved in the suppressing of internal insurgencies, Li Hung-Chang, in his position as the provincial official-governor-general of Chihli, became the real leader of the movement. Over 90 per cent of modernized infrastructures were under construction at this stage. Li thought that a rich nation was a prerequisite of a strong nation: as he said to his friend, "China's weakness stemmed from its poverty, the Western countries' wealth stemmed from the fact that they could obtain enough funds from developing mining, railroads, telegraph, communications, and with having sufficient population as well. Therefore China should develop these modern items as the West has."<sup>13</sup> Thus the new policies, besides military industries, were focused on how to 'enrich the nation', which included introducing communications systems, industries and enterprises from the West at this stage.

- 1874 Jui-Lin established an arsenal at Canton.

Li Huang-Chang suggested that Western Learning could be made a subject in the government examination; he also called for the development of a mining and telegraph system.

- 1875 Empresses Dowager Tz'u-An and Tz'u-Hsi became co-regents of the young emperor Kang-Hsü (1875-1908) once more after the death of Emperor T'ung-Chih in 1874.

Li Huang-Chang planned to build ironclad warships.

Shen Pao-Chen sent to France students of a naval academy attached to the Foochow Dockyard.

Liu K'un-I (1824-1902) established the Canton Gunpowder Factory.

Wang Wen-shao established the Hunan Arsenal.

Ting Pao-Chen established an arsenal in Shantung.

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<sup>13</sup> Li, Shou-Kong 李守孔 (Taipei, 1986), p. 323.

Owing to the Margary Affair,<sup>14</sup> China concluded the Chefoo Convention with Britain.

- 1876 The Grand Councillor Wen-Hsiang died in this year.  
Li sent seven army officers to Germany for study.  
Dispatch of thirty students from the Foochow Navy Yard School to Britain and France.  
Shen Pao-Chen opened the Keelung Coal Mine in Taiwan.  
The British constructed the Shanghai-Wusung railway.
- 1877 Li Hung-Chang created the Bureau of the K'ai-P'ing Coal Mine at Tientsin.  
Ting Pao-Chen established a machine factory in Chengtu.  
According to the Chefoo Convention, Kuo Sung-Tao (1818-1891) was sent to London for an apology and established the first embassy of Ch'ing China in Great Britain. From then until 1880, China set up embassies in sequence in Paris, Berlin, Spain, Washington, Tokyo, and St. Petersburg and established full relationships with these nations.  
Shen Pao-Chen, under the pressure of Chinese traditional thought of *fengshui*,<sup>15</sup> purchased the Shanghai-Wusung railway from the British and destroyed it.  
The Foochow Navy Yard School sent the first graduates to Europe for study.
- 1878 Li Hung-Chang established the Shanghai Cotton Cloth Mill.  
Tso Tsung- T'ang established a textile factory in Kansu.  
The Imperial Maritime Customs opened a post department.  
Hsueh Fu-Cheng proposed to construct a railway between Tientsin and Taku.
- 1879 A telegraph line ran between Tientsin and Taku.  
Ma Chen-Chung suggested constructing railways by means of foreign loans.
- 1880 Li Hung-Chang established a naval academy and a telegraph school at Tientsin. He also requested permission to build railways originating from Beijing and planned to purchase foreign warships in order to organize a modern navy.

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<sup>14</sup> Because the British adventurer, Augustus Margary was ambushed and killed while adventuring on the frontier of western China in 1875, the British government insisted that China should take responsibility for this accident and pay compensation to Margary's family. Thus China sent a diplomatic mission to Britain to apologise and signed the Chefoo Convention. Concerning the Margary Affair and the Chefoo Convention, see Hsu, Immanuel C.Y. (New York, 1970), pp. 365-368.

<sup>15</sup> Traditionally, Chinese people believe that the direction and surroundings of a house or tomb have an influence on the fortune of a family and their offspring. Thus they thought the railway might destroy the *fengshui* of the surroundings and bring misfortune to them.

Chang Shu-Sheng initiated the School of Western Learning in Canton.  
Another scholar Cheng Kuan-Ying proclaimed his reform proposal in his work *I-Yen* 易言.

- 1881 The Imperial Telegraph Administration was inaugurated and a telegraph line was laid between Tientsin and Shanghai.  
The T'ang-Shan railway was completed six miles north of Tientsin.  
Li Hung-Chang opened a copper mine in Jenol and opened a modern medical school at Tientsin. He also proposed to dispatch ten naval students overseas for study.  
Liu K'un-I established the Nanking Gunpowder Factory.  
Wu Ta-Ch'eng established the Kirin Arsenal in Manchuria.  
The Educational Mission was recalled from the United States.
- 1882 Li Hung-Chang constructed a naval base and a shipyard at Port Arthur.  
Foochow Navy Yard School sent graduates to Europe for the second time.
- 1883 The Beijing Field Force Arsenal was established.  
A merchant-operated gold mine was run in Shantung, and a merchant-operated Yuan Chang Machine Factory was opened in Shanghai.
- 1884 Prince Kung was removed from the Grand Council and the Tsungli Yamen.<sup>16</sup>  
Li Hung-Chang sent more naval students to Europe for study.  
Ts'en Yu-Ying established the Yunnan Arsenal in Kunming.

The third stage of the Self-Strengthening Movement was from 1885 to 1894. Apart from continuing to construct the army and naval forces, the Ch'ing government also paid attention to developing industries by using the new technology of the West, which mainly included the silk and cotton textile industries, mining, and paper production, in order to not only pursue the idea of a 'strong army' but also a 'rich nation'. In the meantime, because Prince Kung was sacked and The Grand Councillor Wen-Hsiang had died, Prince Ch'un (1840-1891, his wife was the younger sister of Dowager Tu'z-Hsi and his son Tasi-T'ien was selected to be the successor of Emperor Tung-Chih and became Emperor Kuang-Hsü in 1871) was appointed to the head position in the central government. As well, besides Li Hung-Chang, new governors appeared in the provinces such as Chang Chih-Tung (1837-1909), Liu K'un-I (1824-1902) and Liu Ming-Ch'uan, who played the leading roles and made considerable efforts in the Self-Strengthening Movement. The main points at this stage included the following:

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<sup>16</sup> Finally, due to China's defeat in the Sino-French War, Prince Kung as the head of the government had to take responsibility so he was ruled out of the government. See Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), pp. 371.

- 1885 The Navy Yamen (the Headquarters of the Naval Force) was created and Prince Ch'un was assigned as the president and Li Hung-Chang as the vice president.  
 Li Hung-Chang established a military academy at Tientsin.  
 Liu Ming-Ch'uan established the Taiwan Arsenal in Taipei.  
 Liu Ping-Chang established the Hangchow Arsenal.
- 1886 Chang Chih-Tung built a textile mill which was run by the government at Canton.  
 The Foochow Navy Yard School sent graduates to Europe for the third time.  
 The K'ai-P'ing Railway Company extended the T'ang-Shan Railway to Tientsin.
- 1887 Li Hung-Chang established a mint for producing coins at Tientsin and opened the Moho gold mine in Manchuria.  
 Chang Chih-Tung built up the mint and merged the '*Kuang fang-yen kuan* 廣方言館' (a translation school) into a combined military and naval academy at Canton.  
 The Kunming Naval Academy was established in Beijing only for the bannermen.
- 1888 Li Hung-Chang formally established the Pei-Yang Naval Fleet.  
 The government constructed the Summer Palace for flattering the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi by using the naval funds and decided not to purchase any more new ships.  
 The Tientsin-Taku Railway was completed.
- 1889 Chang Chih-Tung created a cotton textile mill and an iron factory at Canton. He also proposed to build a railway between Hankow and Beijing.
- 1890 Chang Chih-Tung opened the P'ing-Hsiang Coal Mines, Ta-Yen Iron Mines and Han-Yang Ironworks and Han-Yang Arsenal.  
 The Shanghai Textile Factory was established as a government enterprise.  
 Tseng Kuo-Chung and Liu Kun-I established the Nanyang Naval Academy in Nanking.  
 A scholar Ma Chien-Chung advocated his reform proposal in *The Theory of Enriching the People* (*Fu-min shou* 富民說). Another scholar T'ang Chen called for institutional reforms in his work *Warning* (*Wei-yen* 危言).
- 1891 Li Hung-Chang built a paper mill at Shanghai.  
 The Kweichow Ironworks was established as a 'joint government and merchant undertaking'.

- The Manchurian Railway construction projected was inaugurated.
- 1892 The Taipei-Keelung Railway was completed in Taiwan.  
Li Hung Chang ran the Shanghai cotton textile factory.  
Chang Chih-Tung established a mining and engineering college in Wuchang and Han-Yang Arsenal.
- 1893 Li Hung Chang opened the Peiyang Medical College at Tientsin and created the General Office for Machine Textile Manufacturing in Shanghai.  
Chang Chih-Tung established the Self-Strengthening College in Hupeh province and created four cotton and textile plants at Wuchang.  
The scholar Cheng Kuan-ying published his work *Warning to a Prosperous Age* (*Sheng-shih wei-yen* 盛世危言) to spread his reform proposals.
- 1894 Chang Chih Tung organized two match companies and opened a textile company in Hupeh.  
Lu Ch'uan-Lin established the Shensi Arsenal in Sian.  
The Beijing-Shanhaikuan Railway was completed.



In short, the conservative officialdom in the government and the Confucian gentry in society disagreed with, or were even hostile toward these kinds of innovations. As well, the key figure Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi realized the importance of the Western learning to China but she simply tried to play a game of power-balance by using the conservative faction to restrain the reforming faction in order to keep power firmly in her hands during the period of the Self-Strengthening Movement. By any account, the reformers in the movement had to overcome many difficulties to start the Western Learning.

From the above, it is clear that the Self-Strengthening Movement in both the central and provincial governments of Ch'ing China achieved goals which included establishing arsenals to manufacture firearms and gunboats; creating new military academies or colleges to introduce Western military science, medicine, knowledge, science and technology; dispatching missions overseas and building up embassies in Western countries for formal diplomatic relationships; sending students overseas for further training in Western military matters, or to study science and technology; hiring talented Westerners to manage Ch'ing China's Imperial Maritime Customs; building communication systems of the telegraph, railways and publishing enterprises; opening

up diverse mining; establishing light industries such as textiles, and some ironworks and machinery factories.

However, all these efforts were merely superficial modernization, and as to the cores of Western-style modernization such as political and military institutions, capitalism including financial, banking and monetary systems, educational systems and even philosophy, culture, arts, and ways of thinking, then China did not simulate at all. And so, even after China had launched Western Learning from 1861, that is why, in the Sino-French War of 1884-1885 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, China had not enough strength to confront its foe, and finally was twice defeated by those nations. The merits and demerits of China's modernization in this phase will be discussed more deeply after Japan's modernization in the Meiji Restoration is reviewed.

#### 4.1.2. Japan

In Peter Kornicki's work *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History 1868-1912 (4 volumes)*, Meiji Japan is divided into four stages. These are the emergence of the Meiji state (from the U.S. Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853 to the commencement of the Meiji Restoration in 1868); the growth of the Meiji state (the timing includes the two decades from the 1870s to 1880s); the mature Meiji state (from the promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan in 1889 and first Meiji Diet in 1890, across the Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895 up to the Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905); and the end of Meiji and early Taishō (after the Russo-Japanese War, across the annexation of Korea in 1910 roughly up to the end of the First World War in 1918).<sup>17</sup>

However, to coincide with the comparison of modernization in Ch'ing China and Meiji Japan in the late nineteenth century, while I follow the same emergent / formative stage from 1853 to 1868, I prefer to divide Meiji proper into three stages. The first is from the beginning of the Meiji era in 1868 till the occurrence of the first Cabinet in Japanese history on December 1885, led by Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909). The second stage runs from 1886 to the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), which was an important observation point from which to perceive the merits and demerits of modernization in China and Japan. The third stage I put into the consequent stage

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<sup>17</sup> Kornicki, Peter F. ed., *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History, 1868-1912, 4 volumes*. (London; New York, 1998): see the General introduction in Volume One.

(1896-1912) and this will be discussed in the next chapter.

So, first of all let us observe what Japan did in the first stage. The establishment of the Meiji government mainly depended upon the efforts of powerful daimyō and samurai, while the Meiji emperor himself (1852-1912, see Figure 7) was just a teenage boy of sixteen. Thus, the real leaders who were in charge of political power consisted of such talented people as Itō Hirobumi (Figure 8), Kido Takayoshi (1833-1877, Figure 9), and Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922, Figure 10) from the Chōshū domain; Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830-1878, Figure 11) and Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840-1900) from the Satsuma domain; Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922, Figure 12) and Etō Shinbei (1834-1874) from the Hizen domain; and Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919) from the Tosa domain, in combination with officers of the court such as Sanjō Sanetomi (1837-1891) and Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883) and long-serving officers in the shogunate such as Katsu Kaishū (1823-1899).

Although the Seinan 西南戦争 civil war (also called the Satsuma Rebellion) happened in 1877 and although some insurgencies occurred including the *Nakano sōdō* 中野騒動 in 1870, *Chōheireihantai ikki* 徴兵令反対一揆 in 1873, *Saga no ran* 佐賀の乱 in 1874, *Keishintō no ran* 敬神の乱, *Akizuki no ran* 秋月の乱 and *Hagi no ran* 萩の乱 in 1876, and *Chisokaiseihantai ikki* 地租改正反対一揆 in 1878,<sup>18</sup> these new leaders in the Meiji government firmly undertook reforms<sup>19</sup> that mainly included the following in the first stage (1868-1885)

- 1868 Restoration of Imperial Rule (*Ōsei fukko* 王政復古); Meiji Restoration (*Meiji ishin* 明治維新).
- The promulgation of the Five-Article Charter Oath (*gokajō no goseibun* 五箇条の誓文).<sup>20</sup>
- Proclamation of the Outline of Commercial Law.
- 1869 Formal return of domainal registers to the Emperor Meiji (*hanseki hōkan*

<sup>18</sup> Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱芳明. eds. *Nihonshi sōran* 日本史総覧 (*The Conspectus of Japanese History*). (Tokyo, 2001), p. 172.

<sup>19</sup> The contents of the reforms in the Meiji Period are mainly abstracted from books such as Henshall, Kenneth G., Chapter Four 'Building a Modern Nation: the Meiji Period (1868-1912)' in *A History of Japan: from Stone Age to Superpower* (New York: 2004); Suzuki Hushiko 鈴木節子 ed., *Eigo de yomu Nihonshi* 英語で読む日本史 (*Japanese History, 11 Experts Reflect on the past*) (Tokyo, 1996); Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱芳明. eds. *Nihonshi sōran* 日本史総覧 (*The Conspectus of Japanese History*) (Tokyo, 2001); Hamashima, Mashiaki 浜島 正昭, eds. *Shishō Nihonshizusetsu* 新詳日本史 図説 (*New Vision of Japanese History*) (Tokyo, 1998); Miyahara Takeo 宮原武夫 ed. *Nihon no rekishi* 日本の歴史 (*Japan's History*) (Tokyo, 1989); and Jansen, Marius B. & Rozman, Gilbert, ed. *Japan in Transition, from Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton, 1986).

<sup>20</sup> The text of the Five-Article Charter Oath refers to Jansen, Marius B. & Rozman, Gilbert, ed., *Japan in Transition, from Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton, 1986), p. 76.

版籍奉還).<sup>21</sup>

Removal of the Capital from Kyoto to Tokyo.

Renewal of the bureaucracy in the central government.

Ezochi 蝦夷地 was renamed Hokkaidō.

The establishment of the Mint Bureau and Opening the Tokyo Foreign Exchange Company.

The telegraph line between Tokyo and Yokohama was completed.

1870 The military system (adopting of a French-style army and a British-style navy) was unified.

The establishment of Osaka Arsenal.

Permission for the commoners to choose their own names was granted.

Iwasaki Yatarō opened the Tsukumo Commercial Association (九十九商社, the antecedent of the Mitsubishi Joint-Stock Company).

The government-operated Maebashi Silk Textile Mill was established.

Nakamura Masanao published *Saikokurisshihen* 西国立志編 (Tales of Self-Made Westerners) to introduce Western 'model individuals'.

Self-help ideology grew strong during the 1870s-1880s.

Ideas of 'freedom and human rights' became popular from the 1870s-1880s.

1871 Proclamation of the Family Register Law.

Establishment of the Administrative Prefecture System (*haihan chicken* 廃藩置県).<sup>22</sup>

Dispatch of the Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883) diplomatic mission to Europe and the U.S. in order to cancel the unequal treaties with the West.

The postal service between Tokyo and Osaka was established.

The Ordinance of New Currency Policy included the gold standard, the yen unit and the denary scale.

The proclamation of the Ordinance of Liberation (*kaihōrei* 解放令)<sup>23</sup> to abolish the feudal classes, the so-called *shi-nō-kō-shō* (士農工商), in society.

Cancellation of the limitations of marriage among the people.

Establishment of the Educational Department in the government.

1872 Proclamation of the Law of the National Bank.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. *Hansekihōkan* means the daimyō in the Tokugawa Period returned their registers to the Meiji government. See pp 76-79.

<sup>22</sup> The policy of *haihan chicken* was to terminate the domains in the Tokugawa Period, transferring daimyō to officials in the regional governments, executed by the Meiji government. See Jansen, Marius B. & Rozman, Gilbert, ed., *Japan in Transition, from Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 106-107.

<sup>23</sup> The Ordinance of Liberation advocated equalization of all people in Japan (which meant cancellation of hierarchy in society). See Ishii Susumu 石井進, eds. *詳説日本史 Shōsetsu Nihonshi (A Detailed Japanese History)* (Tokyo, 2000), p. 241.



- Proclamation of the Law of Education.
- Completion of the compilation of a nationwide family register (*jinshin koseki* 壬申戸籍).
- Establishment of the Tomioka Silk Textile Mill.
- The railroad between Shinbashi and Yokohama completed.
- The telegraph line between Osaka and Kyoto completed.
- The promulgation of the Education Ordinance.
- Tokyo Formal University was founded.
- Fukuzawa Yukichi published the book *Gakumon no susume* 学問の進め (Encouragement of Learning) to educate people to be enlightened.
- Commencement of the establishment of the formal territory of the Ryukyu Islands (1872-1879).
- 1873 Serious debate about dispatching an expedition to Korea occurred in the Meiji government. As a result the supporters of this action such as Saigō, Itagaki, Gotō, and Etō were defeated and ruled out of the government.
- The Conscription Ordinance (*chōheirei* 徴兵令) was enacted.
- The Ordinance of Land Tax Reform. (*chisokaisei jōrei* 地租改正条例) was issued.
- The Gregorian calendar was adopted on 1st January 1873 in place of the traditional lunar calendar.
- Declaration of the Law of Transferring Stipends to Bonds. (*chitsuroku hōakn* 秩禄奉還).<sup>24</sup>
- The Establishment of *Meirokusha* 明六社 (an academic and political association) by Mori Arinori (1847-1889), Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nishi Amane (1829-1897) to spread modernized thought.
- Abolition of the limitations on broadcasting Christianity.
- 1874 The establishment of the Tokyo Police Station.
- Dispatch of a punitive expedition to Taiwan in order to establish a claim on the jurisdiction of the Ryukyu Islands.
- The proclamation of the Bylaw of the Japanese Imperial Telegraph.
- Establishment of the *tondenhei seido* 屯田兵制度 (the system of colonial militia) in Hokkaidō.
- The Yomiuri Shinbun made its first appearance.
- 1875 The proclamation of the Constitutional System of Government (*rikkenseitaijuritsu no shō* 立憲政体樹立の詔).
- The proclamation of the Regulation of Newspapers, and the revision of the Publication Regulation.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 79-82.

- The establishment of the Mitsubishi Steamboat Company.
- Creation of the Tokyo Meteorological Observatory.
- Fukuzawa Yukichi published his *Introduction of Civilization Theory* (*bunmeiron no gairyaku* 文明論之概略).
- 1876 Treaty of Kanghwa signed with Korea.
- The promulgation prohibiting the wearing of swords, in order to disestablish the samurai class in society.
- The private Mitsui Bank started operating.
- The revision of the Law of the National Bank was promulgated.
- The start of a draft of the National Constitution.
- Sapporo Agriculture School and attached Industrial Department founded.
- An art school was founded.
- Formal occupation of the Ogasawara islets.
- 1877 The occurrence of the Satsuma Rebellion and the defeated leader of the rebellion Saigō Takamori (1827-1877) committed suicide.
- The Imperial Tokyo University was founded.
- Participation in the Universal Postal Union Treaty (*bankokuyūbinrengō jōyaku* 万国郵便連合条約).
- The first domestic exhibition of encouragement of industry.
- Opening of the government-run Shinmachi Refined Silk Textile Mill.
- The establishment of *Hakuaisha* 博愛社 (The predecessor of the present Red Cross Association).
- 1878 The proclamation of the Three New Laws including the Law of Organizing Local Governments (*Kun-Ku-Chō-Son* 郡区町村), the Law of Organizing Prefectures and the Local Revenue Code.
- The Establishment of the General Staff Office that regulated the military power was independent from the administration and controlled directly by the Emperor.
- The Tokyo and Osaka Stock Markets were opened.
- The Imperial Industry University and the Komaba Agriculture School were founded in Tokyo.
- 1879 Establishment of Ryukyu Prefecture.
- The Ordinance of Education was issued.
- The first publication of the Asahi Newspaper and the Tokyo Economic Magazine.
- Ueki Emori (1857-1892) issued the *Theory of People's Freedom*.
- 1880 Formation of the League for establishing a National Assembly.
- Promulgation of the Regulation of Factories' Disposal.

- Establishment of the National Institution of Accounting Investigation (*kaikeishinsain* 会計審査院).
- Promulgation of the Regulations of Assembly.
- The Criminal and Penal Code was promulgated.
- Opening of the Mitsubishi Exchange Company (the predecessor of the Mitsubishi Bank).
- The Senshū Gakkō (the predecessor of Senshū University), Hōgakusha (the predecessor of Hōsei University) and Meiji Hōritsu Gakkō (the predecessor of Meiji University) were founded.
- 1881 Imperial Rescript promised the promulgation of a constitution and the convening of a national assembly.
- Establishment of the Agricultural and Commercial Department in the government.
- The Liberal Party (*Jiyūtō* 自由党) was formed.
- Matsukata Masayoshi (1835-1924) was appointed as the Finance Minister and carried out a series of financial reforms that mainly included retrenching financial expenses in the government except for expanding the military, and regulating the paper money system.
- The Japan Railway Company was founded.
- The Tokyo Professional and Industrial was created (the predecessor of Tokyo Industrial University).
- The national anthem Kimigayo (君が代) was composed.
- 1882 Imperial Rescript to the Military issued.
- The mission led by Itō Hirobumi went to Europe to study constitutions.
- The Constitutional Progress Party (*Rikkenkaishintō* 立憲改進党) was formed by Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922). As well, the Eastern Ocean Social Party (*tōyō shakaitō* 東洋社会党) was formed.
- Promulgation of the Law of Japanese Banks.
- The railway between Shinbashi and Nihonbashi was completed.
- The electric lighting in Ginza was completed.
- Creation of the Ueno Zoo and Tokyo Imperial Museum.
- Tokyo Senmongakkō (the predecessor of Waseda University) was founded.
- Nakae Chōmin translated *The Theory of Social Contract* (*minyakuyakukai* 民約訳解) and Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916) published *The New Theory of Human Rights* (*jinkenshinsetsu* 人權新説).
- 1883 Completion of the *Rokumeikan* 鹿鳴館 (a hospitality hall for invited foreign VIPs while visiting Japan).
- An Official Gazette was published.

- The establishment of the Osaka Textile Company.
- The establishment of the Tokyo Commercial and Industrial Association.
- Promulgation of the revision of the Conscription Ordinance, the Law of the National Bank, and the Regulation of Newspapers.
- 1884 Promulgation of the Ordinance of the Nobility (*kazokurei* 華族令).
- The railway between Ueno and Takasaki completed.
- Dismissal of the Liberal Party.
- 1885 The first Cabinet led by Itō Hirobumi occurred, and the Cabinet system of the Japanese government was confirmed from then on.
- Issuing of the Exchange Bank Draft (the silver standard currency).
- Establishment of the first postal boat in Japan.
- Fukuzawa Yukichi published *Leaving Asia* (*datsua ron* 脱亜論).
- Ozaki Kōyō(1867-1903) formed the *Ken'yū* Association (*Ken'yūsha* 硯友社), a literary group who advocated using realism in writing novels..
- Meanwhile Japanese literary circles advocated the unification of the written and spoken language (*genbunitchi* 言文一致).

From this sequence, it was clear that the Meiji government had moved through its hardship period in the embryonic stage to the development period of the next stage (1886-1895). On the political front, the government adopted the Cabinet system on December 1885, in which the government was transferred from a political-elite group to a constitutional style; the Prime Minister was in charge of the government; the minister of each department was a member of the Cabinet and directly bore the full responsibility of its jurisdiction for the emperor. With regard to the military, Japan started to create modern-western-style divisions to replace the old-fashioned so-called *chindai* 鎮台 (garrisons). In other words Japan had the ability to create a military strategic unit for dispatching overseas and operating an independent campaign. On the industrial front, Japan put all its efforts into developing its industries. It could be said that the economic development in Japan entered into the so-called first phase of the industrial revolution (*daiichiji sangyōkakumei* 第一次産業革命) from the phase of enhancing industry (*shokusankōgyō seisaku* 殖産興業 政策).<sup>25</sup>

Developments in the next stage are shown below.

<sup>25</sup> In general the history of economic development in Meiji Japan could be divided four stages, the stage of enhancing industry 1868-1885 (*shokusankōgyō seisaku* 殖産興業 政策), the first stage of the industrial revolution 1886-1905 (*daiichiji sangyōkakumei* 第一次産業革命), the second stage of the industrial revolution (*dainiji sangyōkakumei* 第二次産業革命), and the forming of *zaibatsu* 財閥 industries after 1905-1945 (financial combine groups). Refer to Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱芳明 eds. *Nihonshi sōran* 日本史総覧 (*The Conspectus of Japanese History*) (Tokyo, 2001), p 185.

- 1886 Establishment of the Hokkaido Board (*Hokkaidōshō* 北海道庁).  
Promulgation of the Ordinance of Imperial Universities (*teikokudaigakurei* 帝国大学令) and the Ordinance for Primary Schools (*shōgakkōrei* 小学校令)<sup>26</sup>.
- 1887 Itō Hirobumi drew up the Constitution of the Empire of Japan.  
Proclamation of the Public Security Regulations.  
Proclamation of the Income Tax Law.  
The railway between Ueno and Sendai was completed.  
Establishment of the System of Bureaucrats' Advanced Examination (*bunkankōtōshiken seido* 文官高等試験制度).  
The Professional Art School and the Professional Music School were founded.
- 1888 The first session of the Imperial Diet was convened.  
The Organization Law for Cities, Counties and Villages was proclaimed.  
The regional administration system adopted 1 Dō 3 Fu and 43 Prefectures.  
Alteration of the military unit from *chindan* 鎮団 (garrison groups) to division (*shidan* 師団).  
Establishment of the Privy Council (*Sūmitsuin* 枢密院).  
Creation of the Sanyō Railway Company.  
Proclamation of the Patent, Trademark and Creation Regulations.  
The establishment of Tokyo Astronomical Observatory.
- 1889 Promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, the Imperial Household Law, the Law of Election for the House of Representatives, and the Law of the House of Lords.  
The whole Tōkaidō Railway (*tōkaidō honsen* 東海道本線) was completed.
- 1890 Convention of the first session of the Imperial Diet.  
Distribution of the Imperial Rescript on Education to all schools.  
Promulgation of the Organization Law of Prefectures and Rural Districts, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Commercial Law Act, the Criminal Procedure Act, and a part of the Civil Code.  
The first election of members of the House of Representatives.  
The telephone line between Tokyo and Yokohama was completed.  
Heavy industrial development; Japan becomes a processing nation from the 1890s onward.
- 1891 The Tokyo and Osaka Commercial Conventions were formed respectively.

<sup>26</sup> In the Ordinance for Primary Schools, the government enacted four years compulsory education in primary schools that each citizen should accept. See Yoshiaki 金箱芳明 eds. *Nihonshi sōran* 日本史総覧 (*The Conspectus of Japanese History*) (Tokyo, 2001), p 168.

- The Code of Weights and Measures was promulgated and the Metric System adopted.
- The railway between Ueno and Aomori was completed.
- 1892 The Second General Election of the House of Representatives.  
Establishment of the Epidemic Research Institute.  
Establishment of the Imperial Correspondence Agency.  
Publishing of the *Yorozuchō News* (*Yorozuchō hō* 万朝報).
- 1893 The Naval Command Department (*kaigungunreibu* 海軍軍令部) was formed.  
Promulgation of the Codes of Civil Service Appointment.  
Promulgation of the Law of the Imperial Headquarters in War (*senji daihonei jōrei* 戦時大本営条例).
- 1894 The Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty of 1894 was signed and extraterritoriality terminated.  
Declaration of the Sino-Japanese War.  
Promulgation of the Ordinance for High Schools.  
Proclamation of the Public Bond Code for the Military.  
The railway to Hiroshima was completed.  
Promulgation of the Codes of Examining Newspapers before Publishing.
- 1895 The Treaty of Shimonoseki<sup>27</sup> was signed and the Tripartite (Russia, German and France) Intervention occurred.<sup>28</sup>  
The electrical trains ran in Kyoto.  
Opening of the Sumitomo Bank, Shanghai textile factory, and Japan Refined Sugar Company.  
Promulgation of the Ordinance for Girls' High Schools.  
Installation of a meteorological observatory at the summit of Mt. Fuji.  
Japanese branches of the Salvation Army and Archaeology Association were set up.

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<sup>27</sup> According to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Japan obtained from China 1.) Recognition of Korean independence and the termination of tribute to China; 2.) An indemnity of 200 million taels; 3.) Cession of Taiwan, the Pescadores and the Liaotung peninsula; 4.) The opening of Chungking, Soochow, Hangchow and Shasi to trade; and 5.) Japanese nationals have the right to open factories and engage in industries and manufacturing in China. See Fairbank, John King & Liu, Kwang-Ching eds., *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 11: Late Ch'ing, 1800~1911, Part 2* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 108.

<sup>28</sup> The cession of the Liaotung peninsula caused Russia to worry that the Japanese presence on the Asiatic mainland would threaten its interests in the ice-free ports of Dairen and Port Arthur. In order to prevent Japan's ambition, Russia combined with France and Germany to submit an ultimatum to Japan, in which the three nations demanded that Japan should give up the cession of the Liaotung peninsula. This event was termed the 'Tripartite Intervention'. Ibid., pp. 109-110.



In short, during the Meiji Restoration from 1868 to 1895 there were great achievements in modernization. In the diplomatic field, Japan dispatched missions twice overseas: one was led by Iwakura Tomomi to negotiate the cancellation of unequal treaties with the West in 1871, and even though it did not achieve success it did give a good chance to these important political figures in the central government to observe the real situations of Western countries. The other was led by Itō Hirobumi to study Western political systems and constitutions in 1882. These actions showed that Japan had learnt very well how to deal with and gain what it needed from the West through diplomatic methods. Also, during this period Japan cumulatively sent 586 students overseas to study,<sup>29</sup> and later these figures played very important roles in their professional fields. In politics, Japan abolished the shogunate-and-domains system and established centralized government, with local autonomy including the prefectures and city-county-village local administrative system, as well as instituting a bureaucracy. It finally promulgated the Meiji Imperial Constitution in 1889. In the economy and finance, the government executed monetary, banking, stock market and land tax reforms to collect capital and support economic development. As well as this, the government undertook the infrastructure of telegraph systems, railways, mining, and manufacturing industries and also encouraged private enterprise, which boomed in this period with the number of diverse factories surprisingly increasing to 3,054.<sup>30</sup> In internal affairs, the compilation of the family register nationwide was completed and the national police system was installed to ensure social security. In the military, Japan created a modernized army and navy that included organization, training, tactics and strategy, purchasing equipment, and introduced military manufacturing technology. In the legal system, the Penal Code, the Imperial Constitution, the Law of the Royal House, the Commercial Law Act, the Criminal Procedure Act, and a part of the Civil Code were compiled with the intent to build up a country under the rule of law. In education, the Ordinance of Education was issued and a series of codes to regulate operations from primary school to university were promulgated, and many schools and universities were established. Regarding cultural enlightenment, different kinds of academic associations were set up, and newspapers, magazines, and journals were published so that contemporary thought and knowledge were scattered widely. Arts, literature, painting, sculpture, and architecture boomed.

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<sup>29</sup> Leu Li-Chou 呂理州, *minchihiweishin 明治維新 (Meiji Restoration)* (Taipei, 1994), p. 240.

<sup>30</sup> Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱芳明 eds. *Nihonshi sōran 日本史総覧 (The Conspectus of Japanese History)* (Tokyo, 2001), p. 185.

All of the above showed that Japan undertook modernization from a wide range of aspects within the nation, moreover promptly and decisively, and achieved great success. This could be proved by the Sino-Japanese War, which Japan won against the vast nation of Ch'ing China.

## **4.2. Comparison of the merits and demerits of the Self-Strengthening Movement in Ch'ing China and the Meiji Restoration in Japan**

In terms of the above chronological lists detailing modernization reforms in the period of the Self-Strengthening Movement in Ch'ing China and of the Meiji Restoration in Japan in this important operative phase, we can easily perceive that both China and Japan's responses to the West were positive, practical and industrious. However, what were the whys and wherefores of succeeding and failing in their modernizations that meant that Japan could overcome China in the Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895? I think these are key issues in this thesis, and so through comparison and analysis the main merits and demerits in the modernization of both are narrated as follows.

### **4.2.1. Similarity**

Both China and Japan had the same slogan of 'rich nation and strong army' (*fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵) at this stage. In the pursuit of this national goal they had made an effort in these fields. For instance both dispatched missions and sent students overseas, set up an institution to take charge of diplomatic affairs internally and an embassy system externally to keep good relations with the West in the diplomatic field. For the military, they installed military academies to train officers in the army and navy, purchased weapons and gunboats, introduced military manufacturing technology to create arsenals and shipyards and borrowed advisors from the West for help in training new types of troops. In commerce and industry, they established the lighter industries (cotton, wool and silk manufacturing) to stimulate economic development, opened up diverse mining, and established infrastructures for railways, telegraph and telephone communications, and electric light and paper and match factories. Because both nations paid attention to Western-style education, new types of schools were founded, well-educated Westerners were invited to teach students in these modernized schools, and informative small-scale newspapers and magazines were published. Without doubt, both nations achieved their national goals to a certain degree. However, even though in these fields above China and Japan carried out their



modernization similarly, the range and depth of these reforms still had a big gap between them that needs to be discussed in more detail.

#### **4.2.2. Dissimilarity**

The following items show the differences in modernization between China and Japan in this phase.

1. Comparing the type of reforms: China's Self-Strengthening Movement belongs to the Establishment but the Meiji Restoration belongs to a revolution. Strictly speaking, the Self-Strengthening Movement in China was under the Establishment and political figures undertook the reforms, based upon a kind of ethnic diarchy within a political monarchy and absolutism. The goal of the movement was merely to restore the traditional order of the empire by using Western diplomatic practices and the military and technology to cope with the dual threats from the internal insurgencies and the external challenge of the West. Because the Self-Strengthening Movement had these limitations the full range of the reforms could not be applied to the whole nation. As a result, China could obtain a certain degree of success in modernization but not as far-reaching and wide-ranging as Japan's.

The Meiji Restoration in Japan could be said to be a kind of revolution against the Establishment – the Shogunate. State powers were returned to the emperor from the shogun and the feudal lords. However, as a matter of fact, the new practical ruling power was controlled by the hands of political elites within the court, the former shogunate and the domains after 1868. They had more room and flexibility to execute a full range of reforms without many restrictions from the old Establishment. In particular, the main reason for the collapse of the shogunate system came from the threats by the West, thus in pursuing the goal of rich nation and strong army, these talented people in the government were all ambitious to make fundamental and large scale reforms in terms of replicating the West. Without doubt, under their efforts, they made a good foundation for developing Japan's modernization during this period.

2. Comparison of the visions and minds of the major political figures who were in charge of reforms in both nations: It is believed that the key factor in bringing a nation from decline to revival depends upon policy-making figures who can make decisive reforms in the nation and change the nation's fate. Reviewing the leadership in Ch'ing China, the real ruler of the Ch'ing Empire

was the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi during that time. In order to consolidate her power she particularly cared about the dynastic revival and the power balance of Manchu and Han bureaucrats in the government. Under the dual pressures of internal rebellions and external invasions, she passively permitted central and local governments to initiate the Self-Strengthening Movement by adopting Western diplomatic practices and military reforms and technology in order to restore the traditional order in the empire.

At the same time, there were men of excellent calibre who were in charge of the Self-Strengthening Movement, such as in the Grand Council there was the Manchurian Prince Kung, Wen-Hsiang, and Kwei-Liang, and in the provinces several powerful governors of the Han people such as Tseng Kuo-Fan, Tso Tsung- T'ang, and Shen Pao-Chen in the early part, Li Hung-Chang (the really main figure who was in charge of the movement from beginning to the end), Chang Chih-Tung, and Liu K'un-I in the later part of this stage. All of them came from the Royal House or Manchurian nobility, or had obtained gentry status through the Examination System or other means, but they had no experience of studying abroad or being dispatched as a commissioner to the West, except Li Hung-Chang.<sup>31</sup> Thus they all had limited vision and could not clearly perceive the colonial tide from the West, which was propelled by the forces of rising nationalism, capitalism, and rapid industrialization. Under these circumstances of lack of knowledge of the West, it was hard for these political figures to imagine how to execute modernization. Thus incredible things happened: for example the Englishman Halliday Macartney, a medical doctor, was hired to construct the Nanking Arsenal; and two Frenchmen, Giquel and d'Aiguebelle, without any experience of building a ship, supervised the construction of the Foochow Shipyard.<sup>32</sup> However the core idea of the movement simply came from Wei Yuan's theory of "learn the superior techniques of the barbarians to control the barbarians".<sup>33</sup> Thus the main reforms in the movement focused on military modernization though utilizing Western warships, gunnery, arsenals, the new military schools and the new type of navy, as well as opening mines, developing railways, communications and light industry. However, regarding the core elements of

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<sup>31</sup> Of these figures, only Li Hung Chang was dispatched to Japan to conclude the Treaty of Shimonoseki after the Sino-Japanese War and at the age of seventy-four was designated the imperial commissioner to Russia, Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. See Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), p. 414.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.343.

<sup>33</sup> In Wei Yuan's work *Hai-kuo T'u-chih (An illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries)*, he advocated that to China the most important method of dealing with the West is "learn the superior techniques of the barbarians to control the barbarians". Ibid., pp. 334-335.

the West such as Western institutions, legal systems, philosophy, arts, culture and ways of thinking, the movement did not touch them at all. In short, these reformers had no whole picture how to create a new modernized China, but merely intended to utilize the movement to resist the external threats, suppress the internal rebellions and secure or stabilize their political power in the government.

By contrast, in Japan, the emperor Meiji, who was a teenager of around sixteen years of age when he became the successor of the emperor Kōmei, was merely the representative of the government and rarely conducted political operations. The real power was in the hands of so-called *hanbatsu seifu* 藩閥政府 (clan government), and those political elites who were in charge of the reforms came from powerful daimyō/samurai, the shogunate and the court, such as Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830-1878), Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922), Katsu Kaishū (1823-1899), Kito Takayoshi (1833-1877), Itō Hirobumi, Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840-1900) and Sanjō Sanetomi (1837-1891), Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883), Saigō Takamori (1827-1877), Inoue Kaoru (1835-1915), Matsukata Masayoshi (1835-1924), Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919), Etō Shibe (1834-1874), Iwasaki Yatarō (1834-1885), and Shibusawa Eiichi (1840-1931) etc.

These figures in the main stream of the Meiji Restoration generally had experience in dealing with the West and had a good sense of realism. In particular, Itō Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru had studied in Britain, Katsu Kaishū went to Holland to study the navy and Iwakura Tomomi, Kito Takayoshi, Ōkubo Toshimichi joined the diplomatic mission to Europe. Yamagata Aritomo had investigated military systems for nearly one year in Europe too. These giants of the Meiji Restoration in their roles of policy making recognized thoroughly that Japan should undertake a full range of fundamental reforms and assimilate into the Western civilization; otherwise it was impossible to resist the external threats. Thus it could be said Japan's modernization during this period was unlimited. Once the reforms were decided on they were enacted without hesitation.

In a nutshell, Japanese leaders demonstrated statesmanship: the Chinese leaders did not.

3. Comparison of the continuity of leadership in both nations: In China most of the figures in charge of the movement did not continue from the beginning to the end except for Li Hung-Chang. During this period, Prince Kung was disgraced twice and finally sacked after the Sino-French War (1885). Of the other two key figures Tseng Kuo-Fan died in 1872, and Wen-Hsiang died in

1876. General Tso Tsung-T'ang was assigned to take charge of the suppression of the Moslem Rebellion in the Northwest from 1868 and had no scope to worry about the reforms. Chang Chih-Tung and Liu K'un-I not only appeared late in this stage, but also were merely provincial governors without any power of policy making. Thus only Li and the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi took part in the whole procedure of the movement. The reforms were not enacted smoothly and continuously.

In Japan, many talented people served for a long period in the government while learning from the West. For example: Itō Hirobumi four times, and Yamagata Aritomo, Matsukata Masayoshi and Ōkuma Shigenobu twice had been the Prime Minister of the government and all of them participated in most of the whole procedure of the Meiji Restoration. In addition the other political key figures, such as Inoue Kaoru, Itagaki Taisuke, Kotō Shōjirō, etc., all played important roles at this time. Therefore compared with China, Japan's modernization in this stage was more of a continual process and the number of the talented people who served in the government was greater than in China.

4. Comparison of the integrity, efficiency and cooperation in officialdom of both nations: In China, corruption in the government was common, and even Li Hung-Chang, who was the key member in charge of the Self-Strengthening Movement, was not noted for high morals and unsullied integrity. According to reports he bequeathed an estate of 40 million taels after his death that was nearly worth half the state's annual income.<sup>34</sup> Without doubt, his subordinates squeezed huge amounts of money from the national treasury into their private pockets either in their official career or through running government-owned factories and enterprises. Moreover, the most scandalous of all was the transfer of the 30 million taels of naval funds to build the Summer Palace (*I-ho-Yuan* 頤和園) for the sixtieth birthday of the Empress Dowager Tz'u -Hsi.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, the lack of cooperation in officialdom was clear and the rivalry among the factions was serious. It can be proved that the Peiyang and Nanyang fleets refused to reinforce the Fukien fleet in the Sino-French War in 1884 and the Nanyang fleet declared 'neutrality' when the Peiyang fleet was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War. Even the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War was treated as only a particularised failure by Li hung-Chang and the Peiyang

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<sup>34</sup> In the early 1890s, the estimates of Ch'ing government revenues roughly reached 89 million taels according to Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *East Asia: Tradition & Transformation, Revised Edition* (Boston, 1989), p. 568. Also see Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), p 350.

<sup>35</sup> Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *East Asia: Tradition & Transformation, Revised Edition* (Boston, 1989), pp. 622-623.

military forces. It is hard to imagine the national forces of Peiyang as not belonging to the state but to the governor. As Immanuel Hsu points out “The provincial promoters of Self-Strengthening rivaled rather than cooperated with each other and regarded their achievements as the foundation of personal power. Their sense of regionalism and their eagerness for self-preservation persisted very strongly.”<sup>36</sup> And it needs to be emphasized that bureaucratic inefficiency, nepotism, and corruption in officialdom and in government industries and in government-supervised merchant enterprises were obvious. As contrast between these two nations, in Japan, the integrity, efficiency and cooperation in officialdom were much better than in China. Although the Finance Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu decided to support a fund of 25,000 yen annually and accumulatively transfer the property of thirty government-owned ships to Mitsubishi Kaisha without payment in 1875.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless he was merely committed to the national interest, and was not self-interested. Another matter was the so-called Disposal of State Assets Affair (*kaitakushi kanyūbutsu haraisage jiken* 開拓史官有物払い下げ事件) of 1881, in which the governor of Hokkaido, Kuroda Kiyotaka, was prosecuted for disposing of the state-owned property of factories and mines to his relations (these included the *Kansai Bōekishōkai* 関西貿易商会 [Kansai Regional Trading and Commercial Association] directed by Godai Tomoatsu, and the *Hokkaisha* 北海社 [North Sea Association] shared by Kuroda Kiyotaka’s subordinate officers). This caused the so-called Political Change of 1881 (*Meiji jūyonnen no seihen* 明治十四年の政変). As a result, the sponsors of this event, Kuroda Kiyotaka and Ōkuma Shigenobu, were sacked from the government.<sup>38</sup> These examples demonstrate that integrity in Meiji Japan was better than in Ch’ing China. In particular, the Japanese political system did not permit institutional corruption to exist in their bureaucracy.

Even though disputations between factions happened in the Meiji government, generally speaking, they preferred to devote their efforts to the state rather than to their private interests. It could be said that the spirit of teamwork, cooperation and coordination in the bureaucracy was highly commendable.

5. Comparison of the content of reforms in both breadth and depth: If we observe the procedure of absorbing Western civilization in detail, basically it could be

<sup>36</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., (New York, 1970), p. 348.

<sup>37</sup> Ishii, Kanji 石井寛治 *Taikei Nihon no reikishi: Kaikoku to ishin* 大系日本の歴史：開国と維新, Vol. 12<sup>th</sup> (*Outline of Japanese History: Opening the Nation and Restoration, volume 12<sup>th</sup>*) (Tokyo, 1993), pp. 361-363.

<sup>38</sup> Banno, Jyunji 坂野潤治 *Taikei Nihon no reikishi: Kindai Nihon no shuppatsu* 大系日本の歴史：近代日本の出発, Vol. 13<sup>th</sup> (*Outline of Japanese History: The Start Point of Modern Japan, Volume 13<sup>th</sup>*) (Tokyo, 1993), pp. 90-95.

divided into three categories: military and manufacturing technologies as the surface layer; political establishments and legal systems in the middle; and philosophy, culture and ways of thinking in the deep layer, as shown below:

Surface layer	Manufacturing technology including the military and light and heavier industries.
Middle layer	Western political structures and legal systems.
Deep layer	Western-style philosophy, culture and ways of thinking.

Without doubt, both China and Japan started their modernization reforms by learning how to produce weapons and replicate manufacturing technology, such as constructing Western gunboats, building arsenals, opening mines, building railways, and developing light industry which mainly included cotton, silk and wool textile mills.

As to the items in the middle and deep layers, even though the intellectual Wang-T'ao advocated that China needed to establish an institutional state, and Ho Chi and Hu Ri-Huan suggested renovating the bureaucratic system, because they were merely common people the government neglected their suggestions.

Thus China did not enact these, but Japan did.

In Japan, in the matter of political structure, a modernized central government system was created, especially promulgating the Constitution of the Empire of Japan in order to set up the constitutional monarchy system. The local autonomy systems of prefectures and local governments (*Kun-Ku-Chō-Son* 郡区町村) were established. Though within certain constraints, organizing of parties and associations was permitted, and people had the right of assembly. Moreover Japan established the System of Bureaucrats' Advanced Examination to adopt and promote the civil service that built up the foundation of administration. In the economic and financial field, Japan finished the compilation of the nationwide family register, established a financial base by means of the Ordinance of Land Tax Reform, and set up the Monetary Currency System based on the silver standard, and the national banking system, and the National Institution of Accounting Investigation. In developing the economy, Japan was more active and thorough than China in opening mines, constructing railways, a telegraph and post system, marine transportation, and encouraging private enterprises.

In education, Japan started its compulsory education of four years of primary education, and the diffusion of compulsory education for males reached around 78% and for females nearly 50% in 1895.<sup>39</sup> The divisions of university based on

<sup>39</sup> Hamashima, Mashiaki 浜島正昭 eds. *Shinshō Nihonshizusetsu* 新詳日本史図説 *New Vision of*

the educational system were promulgated and national universities and professional schools were established nationwide.

In the legal system, Japan compiled a series of laws to build up a law-abiding society, such as the Penal Code, the Criminal Law, the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, the Imperial Household Law of the Royal House, the Law of Election for the House of Representatives, the Law of the House of Lords, the Organization Law of Prefectures and Rural Districts, the Code of Civil Procedure, the Commercial Law Act, the Criminal Procedure Act, and a part of the Civil Code.

In the military and police system, Japan created a modern navy called *rengōkandai* 聯合艦隊 and a modern army based on the strategy unit of division. Moreover it promulgated the Ordinance of Conscription so that every male citizen should be enlisted to reinforce the army. For the convenience of conducting the war, Japan created the organization of the Headquarters of General Staff and issued the Law of the Imperial Headquarters in War (*senji daihonei jōrei*. 戦時大本営条例). Apart from the above, Japan established an efficient police system nationwide as well. The Minister of the Internal Affairs Department controlled the powers of the police system in order to keep the social security.

Regarding those items in the deep layer such as philosophy, culture and ways of thinking, even though in China a few scholars such as Yen Fu translated considerable Western knowledge including the thoughts of Thomas Henry Huxley, Herbert Spencer, and Charles R. Darwin into Chinese, unfortunately these had little influence on Chinese officialdom, the gentry class and the common people except for a few progressive intellectuals.

However in Japan philosophy, science, literature, journalism, magazines, performances, painting, sculpture, and architecture developed either by the introduction of Western practice, or by keeping the Japanese traditional style or by combining both. Thus Meiji Japan also paid attention to the deep layer of Western civilization and some Japanese scholars gave a special term '*bunmei kakai*' 文明開化 (civilization and enlightenment) to this developmental phenomenon.

6. Comparison of the social and psychological foundations of the Self-Strengthening Movement in China and the Meiji Restoration in Japan: In essence, the atmosphere in Chinese society and officialdom was conservative and passive. Because of lack of support at a fundamental level, in general, the great majority of the officials, scholars, gentry and even the common people

disregarded foreign affairs and political renovation. The type of leadership in the movement operated from the top down and only a few leaders in the central government and several provincial governors and a few scholars concerned themselves with or supported the reforms.

As Li Hung-Chang pointed out in a letter to his friend: “The gentry class forbids the local people to use Western methods and machines, so that eventually the people will not be able to do anything... Scholars and men of letters always criticize me for honoring strange knowledge and for being queer and unusual. It is really difficult to understand the minds of some Chinese.”<sup>40</sup> In addition, after the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, some Western observers clearly described the war as one between Li Hung-Chang and Japan, since only the Peiyang Fleet and the Huai Army led by Li joined the war against the Japanese troops, while the rest of China was not affected at all. Thus it was obvious that the Western reforms were hardly supported by the people or the state and that these officials belonged to different entities.

By contrast, the supporters of the restoration in Meiji Japan were from the bottom to the top even though the direction of the reforms was in the grasp of the government. Thus although the endeavors came from the political figures at the top the influences of compulsory education and the conscription system were able to teach common people the general idea of modernization. In particular, the well-educated elites in the samurai class introduced and diffused contemporary Western knowledge to the citizens through newspapers such as the *Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun* (1870), *Yomiuri Shinbun* (1874), *Asahi Shinbun* (1874), *Jiji Shinbun* (1882), *Jiyū Shinbun* (1882), *Kokumin Shinbun* (1890), and the *Yorozu Chōhō* (1892), and magazines such as the *Meiropu Zasshi* (1874) issued by *Meiropusha* 明六社,<sup>41</sup> *Jogaku Zasshi* (1885) and *Kokumin no Tomo* (1887) issued by *Minyūsha* 民友社,<sup>42</sup> *Nihonjin* (1888) issued by *Seikyōsha* 政教社,<sup>43</sup> *Taiyō* (1895)<sup>44</sup> and *Shōnen Sekai* (1895). By their efforts, they caused the

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<sup>40</sup> These statements are cited in the letter that Li Hung-Chang sent to one of his friends Kuo Sung-Tao, the first Ch'ing ambassador to Britain 1876-1878. See Hsu, Immanuel C.Y. (New York, 1970), pp. 350-351.

<sup>41</sup> The association of *Meiropusha* consisted of the famous scholars Mori Arinori, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nishimura Shigeki and Katō Hiroyuki; they tried to introduce contemporary Western thought of liberalism and utilitarianism to the public. See Hamashima, Mashiaki 浜島正昭 eds. *Shinshō Nihonshizusetsu* 新詳日本史図説 *New Vision of Japanese History* (Tokyo, 1998), p. 172.

<sup>42</sup> The association of *Minyūsha* consisted of Miyake Setsurei, Shiga Shigetaka, and Sugiura Jūkō. They published the magazine to advocate conservative nationalism and comment on the contemporary issues of politics, society, the economy and literature. Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>43</sup> The association of *Seikyōsha* was founded by Tokutomi Sohō. He advocated the Occidentalization of the common people. Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> The *Taiyō* magazine was founded by Takayama Chogyū, Inoue Tetsujirō. They insisted on Japanese nationalism (*nihonshugi* 日本主義).



people and the government to be united as a whole, consolidated by a nationalistic consciousness. As Mita points out “The Meiji regime erected a value system with a dual function, at once liberating the vast, latent energy within the pre-modern community order, and channeling it into the sphere of loyalty, to provide motive energy for ‘a prosperous country and a strong army’”.<sup>45</sup>

In a nutshell, the whole of Japanese society revealed a kind of aggressiveness in pursuit of the new knowledge that was quite different from Ch’ing China, which was characterised by social and psychological inertia.



### 4.3. Conclusion

Both nations pursued the goal of 'rich nation and strong army' as the way to modernization through the Self-Strengthening Movement in China and the Meiji Restoration in Japan. The remarkable landmark of this competition between them was the Sino-Japanese War during 1894-1895. As a result, Japan won a victory over China. In comparing and analyzing this historical process of modernization it can readily be seen that the following key factors influenced the result of the war. This is despite the fact that both nations started their first step towards modernization through the means of dispatching missions and students overseas, inviting Western experts to teach, imitating the manufacture of Western gunships and arsenals and ammunition, opening mines, constructing railways, establishing telegraph and postal and banking systems, and developing light industries.

However, the main differences between the Self-Strengthening Movement and the Meiji Restoration seem to be:

- Goal: In China, the Self-Strengthening Movement’s goal aimed at restoring the order of the empire, in which the regime ruled under the ethnic diarchy within the Manchurian autocratic monarchy. In Japan, the goal of the Meiji Restoration was aimed at establishing a modern state and catching up to (and possibly even overtaking) the West.

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<sup>45</sup> Mita, M., *Social Psychology of Modern Japan* (tr. Suloway, S) (London, 1992), p. 244.

- Type: The reforms of the movement in China were still governed by the dynastic Establishment. However the Restoration in Japan was a kind of revolution in which the shogunate system was terminated and the regime restored to the emperor.
- Leadership: In China there was no efficient and discerning central leadership: absolute imperial power was in the hands of the Empress Dowager T'zu Hsi and she merely indulged herself in political power without any sense of modernization or of building a modern state. However, the Japanese regime was in the hands of well-educated elites who came from the court, shogunate and domains. Emperor Meiji was the representative of the government and he was keen to establish Japan as a modern state, so he not only accepted reform suggestions from the political elites, he also joined with them to make the national policies.
- The number and visions of political figures: China lacked talented people in both central and local governments. In addition, their visions were narrow and limited, and most of them had no experience of contact with Western civilization. By contrast, Japan had plenty of able and intelligent figures in key government positions. Most of them either had a Western education background or were involved in foreign affairs so that they had more open minds and vision to undertake Japan's modernization. Many of them could be termed 'statesmen'.
- The efficiency and unsullied integrity of administration in the bureaucracy: Obviously, Japan was relatively much better than China at this time.
- The breadth and depth of the reforms: Most of the reforms in the Self-Strengthening Movement belonged to the surface layer of modernization which included manufacturing technology of military and light and heavier industries, and certain infrastructures. However the reforms in the Meiji Restoration not only replicated the material manufacturing technology, but also touched the inner and deeper parts of Western civilization that included political structures and legal systems, and Western types of philosophy, culture and ways of thinking.
- The atmosphere and psychology of society: In general, Chinese people were comparatively conservative and passive, and resisted change. Government officers and the gentry class were still proud of their traditional superiority derived from an ancient civilization, and society was overwhelmed by a kind of psychological inertia. By contrast, Japanese people were relatively active and assertive, particularly those who were not just ordinary people but also the

masterless samurai class called *rōnin* 浪人<sup>46</sup> (later, after disestablishment of the samurai class, also *shizoku* 士族), who urgently impelled the society forwards to renovation. As well as compulsory education, the conscription system and teaching via the media also played important roles in enlightening people and eventually involved the whole nation in the modernization movement that made Japan the first modern state in Asia.

In short, the comparison and analysis of this period of history in both nations, as detailed above, shows why Japan was able to succeed over China in modernizing at this stage and win victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.

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<sup>46</sup> The samurai class in the Tokugawa period had stipends and received a good education, and in general they had knowledge and some skills. But they became *rōnin* 浪人 when the new Meiji government extinguished their masters the daimyō. Without support from their masters they would struggle to live so they participated in the movement of modernization eagerly in order to obtain a chance for survival. It could be said that they indirectly impelled the society forwards to modernization.

## Chapter Five:

### Comparison and analysis of China and Japan in the consequent phase

The Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) was a remarkable landmark in history since it had a huge influence on both Ch'ing China and Meiji Japan in the consequent phase(s) of their modernization.

China's defeat in the war proved that the old Manchurian Dynasty was incapable of coping with the challenge of the time, and that the Self-Strengthening Movement was merely a superficial modernization. From then on (1896-1911), Ch'ing China faced the more serious 'threats of partition' (see Map 9, Foreign encroachment on China, c. 1900)<sup>1</sup> from the expansion of the Imperial Powers, which included the Asian neighbor newly modernized Japan. Although the so-called 'Hundred Day Reform, led by K'ang Yu-Wei (1858-1927) and Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao (1873-1929) and supported by the Emperor Kuang-Hsu (1875-1908), occurred in 1898, owing to opposition from the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi and the conservative faction this radical reform failed. Soon afterwards, the Boxer Uprising (*I-ho ch'üan* 義和拳)<sup>2</sup> in 1900 induced the Allied Army of Eight Nations, numbering 18,000, to invade Peking for revenge. As a result, the unequal Boxer Protocol<sup>3</sup> was signed in 1901 and China completely submitted to the West. Moreover, owing to the oppression of native industries by the West and political and social dissatisfaction, there were demands for China to undertake more radical reforms in every aspect, from the most fundamental level. Even though the Ch'ing Court executed some reforms from 1901-1905 in order to renovate the existing governmental institutions, administrative procedures, educational system, military

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<sup>1</sup> Robert, J.A.G. *Modern China: An Illustrated History*. (Great Britain, 1998), p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> The *I-ho ch'üan* 義和拳 related to the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists. The 'Boxers' used the slogan 'Support the Ch'ing, wipe out the foreigners' by late 1899 and exaggerated their ability to protect the nation by their Chinese martial arts and a mysterious power from the gods of heaven. Under the patronage of the Ch'ing Court, the Boxers were utilized by the central and provincial governments to oppose the foreign invasion; they received tacit consent to assault the foreign embassies in 1900 and caused the Allied Army to take revenge by occupying Peking. See Fairbank, John King & Liu, Kwang-Ching eds., *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 11: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part 2* (London, 1980), pp. 118-125, and Fairbank, John K. *The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985* (New York, 1986), pp. 137-138.

<sup>3</sup> The main contents of the Boxers Protocol included 1.) Punishment of the guilty. 2.) An indemnity of £67.5 million, or 450 million taels. 3.) Other important stipulations included the dispatch of apology missions to Germany and Japan, allowing a permanent legation guard, stationing foreign troops in key points from Peking to the sea ...etc. Ibid., pp. 126-127.

organization, and economic and financial systems, once these reforms touched upon the Dowager's tremendous authority or threatened the Manchurian nobility's benefits, inevitably it became impossible for them to achieve any great success. Therefore after Tz'u Hsi's death in 1908, although some reforms continued superficially they did not change the real situation, and later on, the Revolution of 1911, which was led by Western-trained Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (1866-1925), toppled the Manchurian Dynasty. As a result, a long existing imperially dynastic Establishment over two thousand years in Chinese history was terminated and the first republican state was established in 1911. From then on China faced a new era and kept on its way towards modernization.

By contrast, after Japan won the Sino-Japanese War against China, the government and its people felt humiliated by the Tripartite Intervention of 1895. In particular, Japan hated the fact that Russia intended to colonize the Liaotung Peninsula and take advantage of constructing railways and opening mines in Manchuria. In preparing for a seemingly inevitable war against Russia, Japan undertook the policy of *gashinshōtan* 臥薪嘗胆 (a policy of sustaining determination and perseverance in order to obtain enough force to fight against misfortune) and more than half its national budget was allotted to military expenditure from 1897.<sup>4</sup> As well, the heavy industries including iron, steel and shipbuilding industries were also developed strongly towards the latter part of the Meiji Period (from the mid-1890s), partly in line with Japan's military campaigns.<sup>5</sup> Eventually the Russo-Japanese War occurred in 1904-1905, and Japan once more won the war. The victory was the first-ever victory over a Western nation by a non-Western nation and demonstrated that Japan had achieved its national aim of 'rich nation and strong army', and had not only caught up but also was taken seriously by the Western powers. Japan had learned very well indeed how to play the game of becoming a coloniser in Eastern Asia, and in 1910 it annexed Korea without any international opposition, and treaties signed with the Western powers fully regained the right of tariff autonomy in 1911. An era came to an end when the Emperor Mutsuhito (Meiji) died of diabetes on 30 July 1912.<sup>6</sup> Afterwards, Japan gradually continued towards imperialism and militarism, until defeat in the Pacific War arena of the Second World War in 1945.

### **5.1. The reforms accomplished by both nations in this phase**

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<sup>4</sup> Henshall, Kenneth G. *A History of Japan: from Stone Age to Superpower* (New York, 2004), p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> Idem.

### 5.1.1. China

From 1896 to 1911, within the consequent phase, China's modernization could be divided into two parts: one being the 'Hundred Day Reform of 1898' and the other the 'Reform and Constitutional Movement at the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty from 1901-1911'.

#### The Hundred Day Reform of 1898

The Hundred Day Reform should be discussed first during this period. The defeat in the Sino-Japanese War surprised and stimulated the Ch'ing Court and in the meantime, the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi superficially restored ruling power to the Emperor Kuang-Hsu, but in fact, she herself still kept a firm grasp on power.<sup>7</sup> Li Hung-Chang, who was in charge of the Self-Strengthening Movement, lost the Empress Dowager's confidence and was demoted in disgrace to a provincial governor-general at Canton.

At that time the reform movement was mainly divided into two factions. One consisted of the conservative reformers such as the imperial tutor, Weng T'ung-Ho (1830-1904), and a provincial governor-general, Chang Chih-Tung. Chang especially advocated "Chinese studies for the framework of values, Western studies for practical purposes."<sup>8</sup> He wanted to rescue China through a renaissance of Confucianism, in other words by means of education and industry, and by adopting Western science and technology. In the other faction were the radical reformers such as K'ang Yu-Wei and Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao; these came from the scholar-gentry class and had obtained the status of *chu-jen* 舉人 degree through the provincial examination, and their advice about state policy finally attracted the Emperor's attention. Their suggestions basically replicated the reforms of the Meiji Restoration of Japan and the Emperor Kuang-Hsu adopted their proposals and launched a series of so-called Hundred Day Reforms (*wu-hsu pien-fa*, 戊戌變法).

Between June 11 and September 21 1898, the emperor issued forty or more reform

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<sup>7</sup> Tz'u-Hsi controlled the power through three methods: one was assigning her henchman Jung-Lu who was a Manchurian noble to take charge of the Peiyang Army which was stationed the vicinity of Peking, the second was organising her confidants in the Grand Council to make routine reports about all policy decisions and the third asking the eunuchs to watch the Emperor's movements. See Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York, 1970), p. 455.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 427-430 and Fairbank, John K. *The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985*. (New York, 1986), p. 136.

edicts to deal with almost every conceivable subject, which mainly included abolition of sinecures and unnecessary offices; appointment of progressives in the government; improvement of administrative efficiency by a new, simplified administrative procedure; encouragement of suggestions from the common people; setting up diverse modern schools and revising the examination system with essays on current affairs to replace the '*Eight-legged*' essay and the initiation of a special examination in political economy; publication of an official newspaper; revising laws as a preliminary to getting rid of extraterritoriality; promoting railway construction, agriculture, medicine, mining, commerce, inventions, and study abroad; and modernizing the army, navy, police, and postal systems.<sup>9</sup>

However, the set of reforms came to a halt in the power struggle between the Emperor and the Empress Dowager, the conflict between the conservative factions and the progressive factions, and racial strife between the Manchus and Han officers. Without the support of the main power controller, Tz'u Hsi, the reform inevitably failed. As Immanuel Hsu points out:

The principal causes for the failure of the reform were the inexperience of the reformers and their ill-considered strategy, the reluctance of the Empress Dowager to give up power, and powerful conservative opposition.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, on September 21 1898, with the help of the top Manchurian military commander Jung-Lu, Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi, fearing a coup d'état by the radical reformers, seized Emperor Kuang-Hsu and put him under detention in a small island in the Imperial Garden, while she started her third regency. Six of the second tier of reformers, namely T'an Su-T'ung, Yang Jui, Yang Shen-Hsiu, Liu Kuang-Ti, Lin Hsu and K'ang Kuang-Jen, known as the "Six Gentlemen" (*liu chun-tzu* 六君子), were executed and the primary-tier reformers K'ang and Liang escaped to Japan.<sup>11</sup> This was the first bloodshed for modernization in China and the radical reforms were declared at an end in just 103 days. Strictly speaking, most of the policies in the Hundred Day Reform led by the Emperor were merely paperwork and were not seriously put into practice.

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<sup>9</sup> Concerning the content of the Hundred Day Reforms, see Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York, 1970), pp. 443-447, and Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. *China: Tradition and Transformation*. (revised edition) (U.S.A., 1989), pp. 374-376.

<sup>10</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York, 1970), p. 454.

<sup>11</sup> Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. *China: Tradition and Transformation* (revised edition). (U.S.A., 1989) p. 376.

However, as Fairbank points out:

The reform movement must not be counted a complete failure. Underlying it from the beginning was an intellectual groundswell. As the political effort unfolded after 1895, the feeling and attention it aroused fed back to deepen and broaden this groundswell. Eventually, while the reform movement failed to achieve its political goal, the intellectual changes it induced had a long-range nationwide impact on the society and culture of China.<sup>12</sup>

Chinese gentry-literati started to absorb a large-scale influx of contemporary Western thought and were actively involved in the tide of modernization. In addition, new types of schools began to be established and the old-existing academies reconstructed by these gentry-literati, and new curricula including mathematics, science, world geography, history, Western languages and foreign current affairs were introduced into the educational system. Moreover, voluntary associations such as study societies were formed rapidly. From 1895 to 1898, seventy-six study societies had been founded, not only in the large coastal cities but also in inland areas to spread new values and knowledge from the West to many youngsters.<sup>13</sup> And newspapers and magazines emerged very quickly during this time: twelve existed before 1895 and they increased by another sixty from 1895-1898 nationwide.<sup>14</sup> All these publications played the role of 'vehicles for nationalism' to spread a strong political consciousness.

Through the influence of newspapers and magazines, study societies and new-type schools, a new social group of Chinese intelligentsia was formed. They were different from the traditional gentry-literati and could learn Western knowledge and expand their vision from tradition, then transformation and to modernization. As a result, they played an important role in promoting China's modernization at the end period of the Ch'ing dynasty and afterwards.

### **The Reform and Constitutional Movement at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty from**

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<sup>12</sup> Fairbank, John King & Liu, Kwang-Ching eds., *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 11: Late Ch'ing, 1800~1911, Part 2* (London, 1980), p. 329.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 330-332.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 333.



## 1901 to 1911

### The reform from 1901 to 1905

As mentioned above, after the failure of the Hundred Day Reform, the Boxer Uprising occurred in 1900 and interrupted the process of China's modernization for nearly three years. During this period (from 15 August 1900 to 7 January 1902) when the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi and the puppet emperor Kuang Hsu escaped from the capital city Peking to the refuge of Xian, she admitted her policy of using the Boxers to resist the West was misled and thereby brought catastrophe to the nation. Thus she promised in public to reform the existing government institutions, administrative procedures, the education system, the military institutions, and the financial system and improve people's livelihood, still based on the Ch'ing Establishment.

In the meantime, a group consisting of Prince Ch'ing, Jung-Lu, and Li Hung-Chang in the central government and the Yangtze governors-general Chang Chih-Tung and Liu K'un-I took charge of the reforms. These mainly contained the abolition of useless offices; the creation of new offices in the political system; setting up the Commission for Army Reorganization (*lien-ping ch'u* 練兵處) to recruit and train the New Army, in which there were thirty-six divisions newly created throughout the empire, and the establishment of a system of military schools to train the officers of the New Army in the military reforms.<sup>15</sup> In the educational field, in 1904 a set of regulations was put out for school administration modeled on the Japanese example; many new schools were created and study abroad encouraged; the 'Eight-legged' essays in the examination system were abolished in 1901; the Education Department was established in the central government to take charge of educational administration in 1905 and decided to abolish the old civil-service examinations system after 1906.<sup>16</sup> On the compilation of new legal codes, the Ch'ing government decided to start preparations from 1902 for revision of the laws and judicial administration and amendment of the current *Code of the Ch'ing dynasty* (*Ta-Ch'ing Lii-Li* 大清律令). Social reforms included permission for marriages between Manchu and Han, liberation of women from foot binding, and prohibition of opium. Concerning other reforms, these covered adopting a policy of currency unification and establishing the International Exchange Bureau in 1903; revision of the regulations on tribute rice; promotion of railway construction; promulgation of provincial taxes on tobacco and liquor; drafting of a commercial law; establishment of refugee camps to collect

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 383-385.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 376-378.

vagrants and the unemployed; and reduction of the expenses in the Royal House.<sup>17</sup>

However, the Dowager had no real intention of undertaking complete Westernization. Also, she discriminated against capable Han officers and gave important appointments to inept Manchurian officers. Moreover after the key figures Li Hung Chang died in 1901 and Liu K'un-I in 1902, successful modernization in China became more and more unlikely. The three concrete achievements under the Dowager were merely the abolition of the '*Eight-legged*' essays and the old civil-service examinations system, the establishment of modernized schools, and the dispatching of students overseas.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Constitutional Movement from 1905 to 1911**

Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 could be felt to symbolize the fact that because "Japan's constitutional monarchy defeated Russia's Tsarist autocracy, constitutionalism seemed to have proved itself as a basis for unity between rulers and ruled in a national effort,"<sup>19</sup> and this stimulated constitutionalism in China. In the meantime, in the political situation in China, the central government actively undertook a dual reform that included administrative modernization and constitutionalism. Non-officially there were two main streams of political movement rooted overseas but which broadcast their thought to inland commoners. One was conservative and called *Bo-uhung-dang* 保皇黨 (the Royalist Party), led by K'ang Yu-Wei and Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao, and which insisted on keeping loyal to the emperor by means of constitutionalism. The other was aggressive/progressive, called *Ger-min-dang* 革命黨 (the Revolutionary Party), led by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, and which advocated toppling the Ch'ing Court by means of revolution and creating a new Republican government.

Under the urgent domestic cause of constitutionalism, while other administrative reforms were undertaken, the court dispatched two official missions overseas in 1906 to study the constitutions in Western countries. One visited Germany and the U.S.A., and the other visited Japan, England, and France. As a result, the Empress Dowager promised a 'constitutional polity' and proclaimed a set of principles to guide a

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<sup>17</sup> For the detailed content of the suggestions see Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York, 1970), pp. 490-492.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 492.

<sup>19</sup> Fairbank, John King & Reischauer, Edwin O. *China: Tradition and Transformation*. (revised edition) (U.S.A., 1989), p. 400.

nine-year programme to prepare for a constitutional self-government.<sup>20</sup> However, the Empress Dowager, a figure with tremendous influence, died on November 15 1908, and the Emperor Kung-Hsu, at the age of thirty-seven, mysteriously died one day before her death.

Owing to the emperor's death, China lost its best chance to transfer to a constitutional monarchy, and the advocacy of a benevolent, enlightened monarchical institution by the conservative faction lost popularity too. The regime was left in the hands of ignorant but vainglorious Manchu princes. The three-year-old Pu-Yi, the Empress Dowager's grand-nephew, succeeded to the throne and reigned as the Emperor Hsüan-Tung (1909-1911), with his father, the second Prince Ch'un, as the regent. At this time, the reforms in China were too slow and too grudging to solve the contemporary problems. In particular, the central government needed coordination to dominate administration by establishing a cabinet, which consisted of a prime minister and eleven departments. Eventually, with anti-Han Chinese sentiments, the regent Prince Ch'un organized a so-called 'Royal Cabinet' and assigned eight Manchus (with five imperial relatives), one Mongol bannerman, and only four Han people as ministers in the cabinet. The incredible ineptitude of the appointments generated disillusion and disappointment and the majority of Han Chinese were firmly convinced that real constitutionalism under Manchu leadership was impossible to achieve. Later on, the Revolution of 1911 (also called Double Tenth Revolution) led by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, overthrew the Ch'ing Dynasty into the dust and ashes of history and established the Chinese Republic at Nanking on January 1 1912. From then on, China faced another stage in its modernization.



In short, in this consequent phase from 1895 to 1911, the path to modernization was winding and tortuous, even though China had the Hundred Day Reforms in 1898, and the Reform and Constitutional Movement from 1901 to 1911. However, these reforms proved that under the Ch'ing court, which was an alien dynasty wherein the rulers always placed Manchu interest over the country and its people, it was impossible for China to achieve success in its modernization.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 401. In the programme of constitutional polity, the court prepared to convene the consultative provincial assemblies in 1909 and the constitutional national assembly in 1910 and within nine years to set up a constitutional government.

Because of lack of support from the ignorant, conservative and selfish key figure, the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi,<sup>21</sup> and ineffective imperial leadership, the central government was merely passive and merely undertook superficially some piecemeal improvements, not full-scale reforms. Especially after the Boxer Uprising, the confrontations between constitutionalism, nationalism (revolutionist) and provincialism became more serious. When people witnessed the hopelessness of the Manchu leadership and transferred their sympathy and support from constitutionalist to revolutionist, the ultimate downfall of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911 was inevitable.

### **5.1.2. Japan**

The reforms in the consequent phase in Japan could be divided into two stages for which the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) marked a major divider and milestone.

#### **Reforms executed in the decade between the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War (1895-1905)**

As mentioned above, after the Sino-Japanese War, Japan felt threatened by Russia as the Tripartite Intervention prevented the Japanese from colonizing the Liaotung Peninsula and obtaining benefits in Manchuria. Russia, nearing completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway, intended to secure permanent control of Manchuria and northern Korea. Under this international situation, Japan focused on preparation for war against Russia but still firmly undertook the reforms below.

In the diplomatic field, in 1899 Japan successfully removed extraterritorial rights and the most-favored-nation clause. It actively participated in international affairs such as dispatching an expedition to China to suppress the Boxer Uprising in 1900 and was

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<sup>21</sup> People might wonder as to why the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi could play such an important role and for so long at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty (1861-1908). As Immanuel Hsu points out "The question naturally arises as to how a single woman could wield such supreme power and remain at the pinnacle for so long, in contravention of dynastic laws and practices. The answer may partially be found in her consummate skill in political manipulation." Her success can be attributed to three stratagems. First she governed the royal members with the imperial family law, and mercilessly sent offenders to the Imperial clan Court for punishment and treated them with severity and terror to demand their submission. Secondly, to the Chinese officials she stressed the Confucian concepts of the proper relationship between the ruler and the subjects and the importance of filial piety. Thirdly she played a game of power balance between the Manchu and Han officers in order to secure and wield the supreme power in the central government. See Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York, 1970), pp. 368-374.

rewarded with certain benefits in the Treaty of Boxer Protocol in 1901. Out of mutual interest, Japan made an ally of Britain and signed the historic Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, partly in order to confront Russia with greater confidence. In 1903-1904 Japan launched a series of negotiations with Russia and obtained a fairly free hand in Korea, in return offering to recognize Russian rights only in the zones along the new railway in Manchuria. And during the war against Russia that followed in 1904-1905, it secretly asked President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States to mediate, putting Japan in a position of strength to win benefits after the war.<sup>22</sup> These actions proved that Japan thoroughly understood how to secure national interests by means of diplomacy – a kind of Western way.

In the political situation, after the ruling party *Kenseitō* (憲政党) had divided into two parts in 1898, party politics in Japan gradually formed. The leader of the *Rikkenseiyūkai* (立憲政友会), Katsura Tarō (1847-1913), was in charge of forming the Cabinet from June 1901 to 1907, and the political situation became relatively calm and stable. Even though there was anti-war thought led by Kōtoku Shūsui (1871-1911), Sakai Toshihiko (1870-1933), and the Christian Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930) around 1903, owing to the victory in the Sino-Japanese War nationalism, in which scholars advocated Japan's national interests and strongly supported expansion into the Asian Continent, became the mainstream thought and greatly influenced both intellectuals and common people nationwide.<sup>23</sup> This ideology played an important role in promoting Japan's future militarism and imperialism.

Concerning the legal system, during this stage Japan promulgated part of the Civil Code (the Property Code), the Tax Law on Brewing Wine and the Law on Monopoly of the Sale of Tobacco in 1896; proclaimed the Monetary System which was based on the Gold Standard in 1897 and another part of the Civil Code (the Family Code) in 1898; revised the Commercial Law and the Law of Appointment and Dismissal of Civil Servants (*bunkanninyōrei* 文官任用令) in 1899; created the Law of Military Ministers on Active Service in the Military Department (*gunbudaijin genekibukansei* 軍部大臣現役武官制) and the Law of Security Police in 1900; revised the Conscription Ordinance to postpone the draft age in 1904; and proclaimed martial law in 1905.

In the military, because of preparation(s) for what was seen by Japan as an inevitable

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<sup>22</sup> Henshall, Kenneth G. *A History of Japan: from Stone Age to Superpower* (New York, 2004), p. 94.

<sup>23</sup> There were two streams of thought in Japan in 1873, one was the theory of human right, and the other was the theory of national right. Later on these contemporary thoughts including Europeanism, democratization, modern nationalism and Japanese nationalism merged into so-called nationalism around 1904-5. See Hamashima, Mashiaki 浜島正昭. eds. *Shinshō Nihonshizusetsu* (新詳日本史図説 *New Vision of Japanese History*) (Tokyo, 1998), p. 197.

war with Russia, over half of the annual income from 1897 went on military expenditure to produce ammunition, weapons and other logistic materials; the naval fleet was expanded to 'six by six' (six battleships and six heavy cruisers, *rokurokukantai* 六六艦隊), and the United Fleet (*rengōkantai* 連合艦隊) was organized in 1903.<sup>24</sup>

In industry, light industry boomed after the Sino-Japanese War. In particular, in the preparations for the unpreventable Russo-Japanese War, in order to enlarge munitions the government invested in the Yahata Steel Factory (八幡製鉄所) in 1902 and quickly developed steel and chemical industries, which made a good foundation for the development of heavy industry afterwards. The increase in the numbers of factories in different industries from 1876 till 1902 is shown below.<sup>25</sup>

	Before 1876	1877-85	1886-94	A.) 1895-1902	B.) Numbers of factories	A.)/B.) %
Silk mills	82	304	796	<b>1,296</b>	2,478	<b>52.3</b>
Spinning mills	1	22	59	<b>125</b>	207	<b>60.4</b>
Match production	6	21	70	<b>115</b>	212	<b>54.2</b>
Textile mills	123	94	454	<b>959</b>	1,630	<b>58.8</b>
Vessels and vehicles factories	18	10	15	<b>30</b>	73	<b>41.1</b>
Tobacco industry	77	23	79	<b>184</b>	363	<b>50.7</b>
Pottery industry	116	59	104	<b>156</b>	435	<b>35.9</b>
Publishing industry	12	44	70	<b>88</b>	214	<b>41.1</b>
Brewing industry	208	21	59	<b>76</b>	364	<b>20.9</b>
Mechanical production industry	8	17	51	<b>60</b>	136	<b>44.1</b>
Paper production industry	5	4	22	<b>51</b>	82	<b>62.2</b>
Total	656	619	1,779	<b>3,140</b>	6,194	<b>50.7</b>

<sup>24</sup> Kanabako, Yoshiaki 金箱芳明, eds. *Nihonshi sōran* 日本史総覧 (*The Conspectus of Japanese History*) (Tokyo, 2001), p. 253.

In the educational field, Japan established the Imperial University of Kyoto in 1897, the National Art Institution in 1898, and the Women's University in 1901. As well, it promulgated the Orders for Professional Schools, High Schools, and Private Schools. Japan also established the National Textbooks System in 1903 and adopted designated textbooks for education in schools.

In another aspects, the Association of Japanese Painting was formed in 1896, and the Association of Studying Social Problems and the Labor Union in 1897. The magazine *Chūōkōron* (中央公論) was published in 1899 and the Friends of Music (*Ongakunotomo* 音楽之友) in 1901. As well, modern forms of literature started to spread rapidly from this time.

### **Reforms from the Russo-Japanese War to the death of Emperor Meiji (1905-1912)**

From the Russo-Japanese War, through the mediation of the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Treaty of Portsmouth signed on September 5 1905, Japan obtained a number of benefits, including recognition of Japan's 'paramount interest' in Korea; the Russian lease on the Liaotung Peninsula and the Russian-built South Manchurian Railway as far north as Chanchun; the southern half of Sakhalin island and several small attached islets; fishery rights around the Sea of Okhotsk and the Kamchaka Peninsula; and restoration at least in theory of China's sovereignty and administration in Manchuria.<sup>26</sup> However, it was the failure to demand an indemnity from Russia that disappointed the public in Japan, eventually causing the so-called Riot of Hibiya (*Hibiya yakiuchi jiken* 日比谷 焼き打ち 事件)<sup>27</sup> in 1905.

Encouraged by defeating two vast nations, China and Russia, within a decade, Japan therefore not only had become a modern nation but also learned from the West how to join the Imperialist Powers. In order to control the political situation in Korea, Japan established a superintendency (*tōkanfu* 統監府), firstly led by Itō Hirobumi from 1906 to 1910, but soon he was assassinated by a Korean nationalist An Jū-Kon (1879-1910)

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>26</sup> Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *Japan: Tradition & Transformation*. (Sydney, 1979), p. 188, and Ishii Susumu 石井進. eds. 詳説日本史 *Shōsetsu Nihonshi (A Detailed Japanese History)* (Tokyo, 2000), p. 271.

<sup>27</sup> Due to the failure to win an indemnity from Russia, the rioters gathered together around the National Assembly Building and caused violence. See Ishii Susumu 石井進. eds. 詳説日本史 *Shōsetsu Nihonshi (A Detailed Japanese History)*, pp. 271-272.

in 1909.<sup>28</sup> However, Japan annexed Korea in August 1910 without any protest from the Western Powers. The great Emperor Meiji died in 1912, Emperor Taishō (r. 1912-1926) came to the throne and from then on, Japan became a real militarist and imperialist nation, with important colonies in Taiwan, South Manchuria, Korea, and soon after World War I broke out occupying the former German colonies in Micronesia, China, Kiaochow Bay and the port of Tsingtao on the south coast of Shantung. The policy of aggression towards its neighboring countries was carried out till the end of World War II in 1945.

Principal achievements during 1906-1912 were that the relationship with Britain became closer after the war and treaties were signed with the Western Powers that fully restored tariff autonomy to Japan in 1911. According to the expanding policy of imperial national defence, Japan intended to expand from 17 to 25 divisions in the army and an 'eight by eight' fleet in the navy from 1907.<sup>29</sup> The Law of State-owned Railways and the Medical Act were promulgated in 1906 and the Factory Code and the Electrical Industry Code in 1911. In industry, without doubt the light industries continued to boom in this stage. At the same time, owing to the demand for armaments iron, steel, and chemical heavy industries were rapidly developed. In particular, the Japan Steel Factory was set up by private enterprise to facilitate the quality and quantity of steel products; the technique of shipbuilding had reached first class around the world; and electric light in the big cities became popular because many electric plants were constructed. In education, six years compulsory primary education was enacted; the Imperial Northeast University (*tōhoku daigaku* 東北帝国大学) and the Nara Higher Women's Normal School were established in 1907 and 1908 respectively. In other aspects, the Tōyō Reclamation Company was formed in 1908, the Labor Union Centre in 1909, and the Association of National Athletes in 1911.

However, concerning social movements, the High Treason Incident (*Taigyaku jiken* 大逆事件) happened in 1910. In this incident hundreds of left-wing sympathizers were under suspicion in connection with a plot to assassinate the Emperor. As a result, twenty-four were sentenced to death, of which twelve were executed in 1911 and the remaining twelve had their sentences commuted.<sup>30</sup> After that, a so-called 'thought police', a Special Higher Police Force, was established to supervise people's thoughts. It can be said that Japan increasingly lacked real democracy after the incident.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Miyahara Takeo 宮原武夫. ed. *Nihon no rekishi 日本の歴史* (Japan's History), (Tokyo, 1989), p. 182-183.

<sup>29</sup> The so-called Eight by Eight Fleet consisted of eight battleships and eight heavy cruisers to form a fleet; see Ishii 石井進. eds. *詳説日本史 Shōsetsu Nihonshi* (A Detailed Japanese History), p. 294.

<sup>30</sup> Henshall, Kenneth G. *A History of Japan: from Stone Age to Superpower* (New York, 2004), p. 96.

<sup>31</sup> Idem.





In a nutshell, within the consequent phase from 1895 to 1912, Japan's modernization was underway, and in particular the Russo-Japanese War was an indication that Japan was able to play the game of imperialism side by side with the Western powers. During this time, party politics were gradually substituted for the oligarchy that was in charge of the practical ruling power at the beginning of the Meiji Restoration. Sound legal systems were established step by step and the modernized army and navy were capable of accomplishing the national goals when needed. Educational systems had been established and the government actively constructed many schools; the educational diffusion among commoners reached a high standard internationally. In the industries, light industry boomed after the Sino-Japanese War and heavy industry including iron, steel, shipbuilding and chemicals also provided a good foundation for development in the future.

However, because Japan won victories twice against China and Russia within a decade, an ideology of nationalism prevailed in society. In addition, the government suppressed the left-wing party, the Japan Social Party, and created the Special Higher Police Force to supervise people's thoughts. The progress of democracy in Japan was hindered. As well, the military ministers expanded their power rapidly and the colonies of Taiwan, Korea and South Manchuria were governed under a military governor-general (*Taiwan sōtofu* 台湾総都府, *Chōsen sōtofu* 朝鮮総都府, *Kantō totokufu* 関東都督府). Therefore it was obvious that Japan headed toward militarism and imperialism after achieving its national goal, 'rich nation and strong army'.

## 5.2. Comparison and analysis

When comparing the differences in modernization in China and Japan in this consequent phases, we note the features below.

1. The transformation of national strength: As mentioned above, the result of the Sino-Japanese War was a watershed of modernization for both nations. After the war, their respective statuses in international society were quite different: for China it became weaker and weaker day by day and China faced the threat of the acceleration of imperialism to partition off parts of the nation; but for

Japan, it not only freed itself from extraterritoriality after 1894 and regained the right of tariff autonomy after 1911, but it also joined the imperialist group in invading its neighboring countries. Thus it could be said Japan that achieved its national goal of 'rich nation and strong army' but China did not.

2. Talented and capable political figures: Even though in China people had known that Westernization was an important policy for survival and wanted to follow Japan's steps in reconstructing the nation, the hindrances which came from the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi and the Manchurian nobility in safeguarding their private interests prevented the progress of China's modernization. It could not be expected that modernization in China would be accomplished under the Manchu Dynasty. In particular, those key figures who advocated modernization faded away from their positions including Li Hung-Chang who died in 1901, Liu K'un-I in 1902; K'ang Yu-Wei and Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao escaped to Japan after the Hundred Day Reforms; the Emperor Kung-Hsu mysteriously died in 1908, and Chang Chih-Tung in 1909. There were no talented people any more in the government who could take over responsibility for the reforms. Furthermore, it was ridiculous that the court still wanted a puppet regime with the appointment of the three-year-old Pu-Yi to succeed to the throne and a 'Royal Cabinet' to respond to the contemporary crisis. Inevitably, the Revolution of 1911 occurred and replaced the Ch'ing Establishment in China and from then on modernization continued to be carried out by those new revolutionary rulers.

In Japan, although the ruling power was generally transferred from the oligarchy to party politics in this phase, many enlightened and talented elder statesmen (*genrōseijika* 元老政治家) still served in the government including the long-established figures Itō Hirobumi, Matsukata Masayoshi, Ōkuma Shigenobu, Itagaki Taisuke, and Yamagata Aritomo who were still making efforts either covertly or overtly. Also the new Prime Ministers of the Cabinet from 1901 to 1912, Katsura Tarō (1847-1913) and Saionji Kinmochi (1849-1940), were experienced in Westernization. Thus probably it could be said that one of the key factors aiding successful modernization for Japan was an abundance of far-sighted statesmen in public service.

3. Discontinuity and failures showed in China's modernization but continuity and successes in Japan's in this phase: Even though in the central government, China had The Hundred Day Reforms in 1898 and the Reform and Constitutional Movement from 1901 to 1911, the former failed and the latter consisted of piecemeal improvements within the Establishment that could not achieve a successful full-range of modernization. However, two victories in

the Sino-Chinese War and the Russo-Japanese War proved Japan's great achievement in the fuller context of modernization, while reforms were executed continually and consistently from the beginning to the end of the Meiji Restoration and the national strength had grown rapidly.

4. Comparing the contents of reforms in both nations: As Fairbank points out, in this phase China had thoroughly perceived that "It was emphasized that in learning the techniques of government and law from foreign countries, one should learn the whole rather than pay attention to small details. The administration explained that 'in order to achieve wealth and power for the nation, it is certainly necessary to learn politics and law from foreign countries'."<sup>32</sup> However, because of obstacles in the form of the Empress Dowager and the Manchu nobility who were pursuing private interests, as well as the regionalism of provincial governors in general among the Han officers, modernization in these days merely achieved several piecemeal improvements but not the full-range of institutional reforms of Westernization. In particular the Ch'ing court was unwilling to establish a constitutional monarchy in China. In the 'Outline of a Constitution' (*hsien-fa-ta-kang* 憲法大綱) the governing power of the executive, legislative and judiciary was still actually in the emperor's hand. Thus the outline was merely an instrument, by which the court intended to continue Manchu rule and consolidate their power but which seriously disappointed the people day after day till the Revolution of 1911. As to Japan, the Meiji government continued to carry out a full range of reforms towards modernization with decisiveness. In diplomatic affairs, it had shaken free from extraterritoriality and the most-favored-nation situation and regained the right of tariff autonomy. In politics, based on the constitutional monarchy, party politics were formed along with a Cabinet system to execute administrative responsibility. In the legal system, Japan had promulgated a sound legal system, which mainly included the Constitution, Civil Code, the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Act, Commercial Code and the Code of Civil Procedure. In the military, a modern navy and army had been set up. And in industry, light industry was well developed and made a good foundation for developing heavy industry. Without doubt, Japan had carried out successful modernization and attained the goal of 'rich nation and strong army' within the Meiji Period, underscored by victories in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War.
5. The indemnity from the war was a huge debt to China but an asset to Japan.

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<sup>32</sup> Fairbank, John King & Liu, Kwang-Ching eds., *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 11: Late Ch'ing, 1800~1911, Part 2* (London, 1980), p. 381.

Ch'ing China had an annual revenue of 89 million taels around that time, but according to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, it had to pay an amount of 200 million taels for indemnity and later an extra 30 million taels for the cost of restoring the Liaotung Peninsula, for which China had to borrow a lot of money and pay interest of about 4-5% to those creditor countries after 1895.<sup>33</sup> In addition, in the Boxer Protocol, China had to pay an indemnity of 450 million taels (equal to 67.5 million pounds) and with 4% annual interest to the allied nations, which included Japan with 34,793,100 taels of it.<sup>34</sup> These huge amounts of indemnity made a heavy financial burden and prevented China's progress towards modernization in almost every aspect. Thus China was the victim and on the contrary Japan was a beneficiary from wars. And Japan could continue to develop its modernization and presently expand its territory to colonize Taiwan, annex Korea, receive benefits in Manchuria from Russia and occupy Germany's former colonies in Shantung and elsewhere.

6. The trend of modernization development: Slow and inefficient modernization brought China failures, degradation and disintegration time after time from 1839 to 1911. Under the alien regime of the Ch'ing dynasty, the despairing people of China transferred their support from renewal in the Establishment to a revolution. The new revolutionary leader Sun Yat-Sen, who advocated using the so-called "*Three Principles of the People*",<sup>35</sup> finally overthrew the Manchu imperial Establishment by the Double Tenth Revolution in 1911.

After that, China faced a new era in its modernization.

By contrast, Japan's rapid and successful modernization brought the nation pride, respect, upgrading, and integration. Japanese nationalism especially overwhelmed the nation after the victories in the wars against China and Russia. After that, Japan marched forward to militarism and imperialism until the end of World War II in 1945.

7. China started to learn modernization in this phase: Japan had continually borrowed from Chinese civilization for over a thousand years thus far, however, owing to its successful modernization in the Meiji Period, many Chinese students now studied in Japan from 1901, and in the peak year of 1906, the number of students reached from six to twenty thousand. Using

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<sup>33</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York, 1970), pp. 407-408.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 481.

<sup>35</sup> '*The three principles of the people (san-min- chu-i 三民主義)* ' (*min-zu-chu-i 民族主義, min-zhu-chu-i 民主主義, min-seng-chu-i 民生主義*) means to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and imperial institution by a nationalistic revolution, to establish a republic and popular sovereignty by a democratic revolution, and to equalize the land rights and prevent the defects of capitalism. Ibid., p. 540.

conservative contemporary estimates the numbers are shown below<sup>36</sup>:

Chinese Students in Japan:

1901	280
1903	1,000
1904	1,300
1905	8,000
1906	8,000
1907	7,000
1908	4,000
1909	4,000
1912	1,400

At the same time, according to statistics compiled by a Chinese scholar, Tsuen-Hsueh Tsien, “during the period 1880 to 1940, in total nearly 2,204 works were translated from Japanese... A study of trends in translation shows that in overall influence Japanese translations formed only 15.1 per cent of the total from 1850 to 1889, and 18.2 per cent from 1912 to 1940, but that they came to 60.2 percent from 1902 to 1904.”<sup>37</sup> It was obvious that Chinese intellectuals started to study Western culture and knowledge through Japan during this stage. Even most reform policies within the Hundred Day Reforms and the Reform and Constitutional Movement at the end of the Ch’ing dynasty from 1901 to 1911 within this phase were replicated from the modernized Japanese-style institution and system.

In short, all these facts clearly showed that China started to learn modernization after Japan’s progress in the consequent phase. Without doubt, the way forward to modernization in Japan had been faster and more efficient than in China.

### 5.3. Conclusion

In the 'competition of modernization' of both nations, it was obvious that Japan had achieved a successful modernization within the time of one generation from 1868 to 1912. Japan’s modernization had shown features of continuity, integrity, and accumulation and acceleration. Many far-sighted statesmen who put their best efforts

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<sup>36</sup> Fairbank, John King & Liu, Kwang-Ching eds., *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 11: Late Ch’ing, 1800~1911, Part 2* (London, 1980), p. 350.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 362.

into pushing Japan towards the national goal of 'rich nation and strong army' served in the government and took charge of the reforms in every aspect. And most policies they adopted were suitable for contemporary situations. Moreover, the vitality of the common people was also a perfect match in the pursuit of modernization in the fields of industry and business, education, social movement, literature, culture and arts, and other aspects. However, it seems regrettable that Japan chose the path towards imperialism and militarism. This was largely because Japan was so proud of its victories in two wars and started to suppress the social movement in order to prevent democracy.

The Japanese scholar Kuwabara Takeo points out that “there are six prerequisites for successful modernization”:<sup>38</sup>

- Democracy should be rooted in politics.
- Capitalism should be cultivated in the economy.
- Industrialization should facilitate manufacturing industries.
- Compulsory education of the people should be sought.
- National forces should be established in the military.
- Liberation from community (basically meaning individualism and putting tradition out of the way when necessary) should be deep-seated in people's minds.

In reviewing modernization in the Meiji period, we can see that Japan almost realized all prerequisites except full democracy. By any account, it could be said Japan did not realize democracy in its politics until after World War II in 1945.

However, Ch'ing China made a strong contrast with Japan. Even though it had the Hundred Day Reforms and the Reform and Constitutional Movement at the End of the Ch'ing Dynasty from 1901 to 1911, its path to modernization was winding and frustrated, mainly because of the ineffective imperial leadership in the central government, namely the Ch'ing court, especially the key figure Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi who was conservative, unenlightened, and selfish and controlled the supreme ruling power for over half a century. Thus to a large extent she must bear responsibility for the failure of modernization. As well, owing to lack of far-sighted statesmanship in the central bureaucracy and the reforms being adopted without a centrally-controlled, full-scale blueprint, the reforms for modernization showed merely piece-meal improvements, discontinuity, and inefficiency. Also the ethnic

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<sup>38</sup> Kuwabara Takeo 桑原武夫, ed. *Meiji ishin to kindai ka 明治維新と近代化* (*Meiji Restoration and Modernization*) (Tokyo, 1984), pp. 208-209

antipathy and power-struggling between Manchu and Han officers damaged cooperation in officialdom and hindered modernization too.

At the same time the external threats became more serious day by day, and especially after the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War the scramble for concessions became more crucial. The Boxer Uprising gave rise to the occupation of Peking by the Eight-Nations Allied Troops with a resultant great amount of indemnity compensation and the granting of other rights to these nations, and also causing Russia to occupy Manchuria, which finally brought about the Russo-Japanese War. All these matters revealed that the Ch'ing government had little ability to respond to repeated contemporary challenges internally and externally. Thus it could be said that it seems the Ch'ing government did not achieve a successful modernization. The main power was transferred from government to non-government after the Revolution of 1911. It was from then on that China faced a new era, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen advocated the so-called '*Three Principles of the People*' and led the Chinese people to march forward along the path to modernization of a new China, namely the Republic of China.

## **Chapter Six:**

### **Lessons from history**

This chapter aims to search for the whys and wherefores of success and failure as well as to establish the key factors in Japan's 'catching up' and China's 'slowing down' on their paths to modernization from around 1840 to 1912. Moreover, in theory, a set of criteria could be established to examine the best principles to be followed when attempting to assimilate oneself with others during a transformation procedure from traditional practice to modernization. These principles could be learnt from history and be applied to under-developed countries around the world today.

#### **6.1. An examination of the whys and wherefores of success and failure in modernization related to the 'catching up' in Meiji Japan and the 'slowing down' in late Ch'ing China**

I have carried out a comparison of the modernization of China and Japan through the influence derived from their legacies and the three phases of 'formative', 'operative' and 'consequent', and have discussed the advantages and disadvantages in the conclusion of each chapter relating to these phases.

However, before I made my own humble contribution, many great scholars had already published their own views about modernization in Ch'ing China and Meiji Japan, and discussed the merits and demerits during the process either individually or comparatively. However, different scholars might have either the same or different opinions on this issue depending on their various observations from their various perspectives. Their comments from several books are given here below.

##### **6.1.1. Scholars' comments on the reforms of Meiji Japan**

A Japanese scholar, Kuwabara Takeo, thinks that the eleven most important conditions, which could be treated as prerequisites, and which made Japan's modernization successful, are as follows.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kuwabara, Takeo 桑原武夫, ed. *Meiji ishi to kindai ka 明治維新と近代化 (Meiji Restoration and Modernization)* (Tokyo, 1984), pp. 210-211.



1. Having good geographical conditions.
2. Being an independent state, as Japan was in the Tokugawa Period.
3. Being a racially homogeneous nation as well as a secluded and safe society.
4. Having had a well established feudal society.
5. Having had peace lasting over 250 years.
6. Having a high rate of educational diffusion.
7. Having a high degree of national unity and almost all people in the nation using the Japanese language.
8. Having had no prior philosophy because Japanese people disfavored abstract theories.
9. Being adaptable.
10. Having relative powerlessness among religions.
11. Abolishing the status system in society.

A Western scholar, Professor Kenneth Henshall, summarized the key practices in the Meiji Period, as partially abstracted below.<sup>2</sup>

1. Incorporation of the strengths of a potential threat.
2. Ability to mix old and new, native and foreign.
3. 'Japanisation' of many foreign elements.
4. Pragmatism.
5. 'Freedom within limits'.
6. Willingness to learn.
7. Determination to succeed.
8. Single-mindedness of purpose.
9. Confucianism (Japanese-style).
10. Strengthening nationalism.
11. Revival of reverence for the emperor.
12. Economic astuteness.
13. A widespread tendency to be guided by authority.
14. Control of the worldview through propaganda and education.

### **6.1.2. Scholars' comments on the reforms of late Ch'ing China**

The Chinese scholar Immanuel Hsu takes cognizance of the following key factors as bringing about China's slow-down on the way to modernization.

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<sup>2</sup> Henshall, Kenneth G. *A History of Japan: from Stone Age to Superpower* (New York, 2004), p. 105.

Limitations of the Self-Strengthening Movement mainly comprised:<sup>3</sup>

1. Lack of coordination.
2. Limited vision of the advocates.
3. Shortage of capital.
4. Foreign imperialism.
5. Technical backwardness and moral degradation.
6. Social and psychological inertia.

Causes of the failure of the Hundred Day Reform mainly comprised:<sup>4</sup>

1. The reformers' inexperience.
2. The power of the Empress Dowager Tz'u-Hsi who opposed the fundamental reform.
3. The conservative opposition.

Finally, he concluded that the obvious reasons for China's hampered modernization and restricted absorption of new ideas from abroad in the late Ch'ing dynasty included:<sup>5</sup>

1. The vast territorial jurisdiction.
2. Poor communications.
3. A self-sufficient economy.
4. An almost total lack of any tradition of borrowing from abroad.
5. The conservative intellectual posture.
6. Feeble leadership (lack of far-sighted statesmanship) and faulty institutions.
7. Manchu suspicion of the Chinese (Han officers) in officialdom.
8. Ignorance of the nature of the Western challenge.
9. National and international turmoil, and insufficient capital.
10. The impact of the foreign role. (The West did not allow China to modernize successfully or to gather the strength to expel them out of the Far East.)

An American scholar, John K. Fairbank, analyzes the following reasons which possibly made China's modernization slow down.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York, 1970), pp. 347-352.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 454-457.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 530-536.

<sup>6</sup> See Fairbank et al. *China: Tradition and Transformation*. (rev. edition) (U.S.A., 1989), pp. 386-390.

1. The Western powers seemed seldom to have any interest in great changes in China; rather they preferred to prop up the old order of the Ch'ing dynasty in order to secure their own interests in the country.
2. The mid-nineteenth century rebels, in particular the Taiping rebels who could be said to constitute a kind of reform group and who advocated an anti-Manchu policy, were potentially nationalistic but lacked modern ideas and showed little ability to push China's modernization ahead.
3. The Self-Strengthening Movement thereafter was more defensive than creative, a conservative compromise avoiding radical modernization.
4. The Hundred Day Reformers though their adoption of reforms were potentially revolutionary, but saw themselves as loyal ministers of the dynasty within in the Establishment.
5. The empire's bankruptcy of leadership demonstrated that the unenlightened Manchu nobles had little ability to face up to the contemporary crisis and made merely vain efforts in the last decade (1900-1911) of the Ch'ing dynasty.
6. Talent was simply not devoted on any large scale to purposes of real revolution or reform before 1900: in other words, there was a lack of talented people with modern ideas to serve in government.
7. The overall cohesion and structural ponderousness of Chinese civilization basically inhibited the country from making a rapid response to the Western menace.
8. China's remarkable imperviousness to foreign stimuli resulted from the following factors.
  - China was not equipped with the same conditions as Japan, which already had the essential ingredients of modern nationalism in a people ready to strive together for national goals within this period.
  - The self-sufficient economy in China prevented it from borrowing industrialization from the West.
  - The situation was that, unlike in the coastal cities, most elites in the dense populations of inland regions such as the Hunan and Szechwan provinces were relatively conservative; they still maintained traditional attitudes and talents from their training in the Classics, and were beyond the influence of the West. As a result, most of them did not participate in the process of modernization.
  - China's institutions were well balanced and kept equilibrium among three strata: the monarch and officers, the landlord-scholar-gentry

class, and the illiterate farming populace. This was different from Japan, under the Tokugawa Shogunate feudal system, which already had such creative people as loyal domain administrators, merchant capitalists, scholars of Dutch learning and patriotic individual samurai who were together capable of creating a modern nation. In short, Chinese people were in the grip of their glorious past, unlike Japanese people who were eager to create a new modernized nation.

- China was under the spell of her own great historical traditions such as the Confucian Classics, old customs, and the regulations established by the dynastic founder which could not be violated by the present ruler. All hindered its reforms.
- There were two major characteristics in Chinese leaders: first, they had been trained to concentrate on internal affairs but were willfully ignorant and correspondingly contemptuous of external things. Second, China's leaders were immune to nationalism because they were supporters of the idea of a universal state. In short, the bureaucrats in the government were trained to be loyal to the ruler and the past, thus they lacked a nationalistic spirit and a common sense of national purpose, thereby obstructing the formation of strong central leadership necessary for modernization.

### **6.1.3. Scholars' comparative comments on the modernization(s) of both China and Japan**

An American scholar, Edwin O. Reischauer, feels that “Japan responded to the challenge of the West with much greater speed and far more success than China,”<sup>7</sup> and sums up his comments in the final analysis as below.<sup>8</sup>

1. Under exposure to the superior guns of the West, the Japanese leaders rapidly realized the situation in that they should give up resistance and open the country to more foreign contact, in particular after the British defeated China in the Opium War of 1839-1842.
2. No wars were fought, no smuggling trade developed, no territory was lost by Japan which was much more fortunate than China. In other words, Japan had a

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<sup>7</sup> Reischauer, Edwin O. & Craig, Albert M. *Japan: Tradition & Transformation*. (Sydney, 1979), p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Chapter Four, Japan's Response to the West and Chapter Five, Modernization in Meiji Japan: in particular, see pp. 122-124.

relatively peaceful environment for its modernization.

3. China was a unique land of civilization with a sense of superiority; it could not accept the multi-state international concepts of Europe, it did not believe that there was much of value to be learned from 'barbarians', and could not really see the seriousness of the challenge from the West. However, Japan did not have such a sublime sense of cultural superiority as China, but rather a nagging fear of inferiority, and they could readily see that there was much of great importance to be learned from the West.
4. Most Japanese leaders, having an extreme sense of nationalism in the face of the foreign menace, seem to have placed national interests ahead of old feudal loyalties, but the officers and the landlord-scholar-gentry class in China were still restrained by the Confucian Classics and obsessed with their loyalty to the emperor rather than to the nation.
5. The very decentralization and diversity of the Japanese political and social system also permitted a greater variety of responses than appeared in China. For example, the samurai class, scattered in more than 260 autonomous feudal regimes, showed a much keener appreciation of the superior military power of the West than did the Chinese civil bureaucracy. Moreover the samurai class, constituting around six per cent of the total population, made efforts in the economy, the military, and administration, and produced a much wider spectrum of responses to the Western menace than did the relatively narrow higher bureaucracy and the elite of gentry degree-holders in China.
6. Japan's advantage was its extraordinary cultural homogeneity and economic and intellectual centralization. Because of Japan's geographic isolation and much smaller size of terrain and population than China, unlike China, where inland areas were always unaware of the foreign threat, all parts of Japan responded immediately. With the relatively large size of the ruling class and high levels of political administration and economic integration, Japan had far more ability than China to carry out a unified, effective response to the West, once one had been decided upon.
7. In China, under the dynastic institution, the basic political, social, intellectual, and even economic system had remained extraordinarily stable for a millennium. It was hard for China to adopt any other system from outside. But in Japan the very erosion of the foundation of the Tokugawa system provided an opportunity for the Japanese because the feudal social and political structure of the early seventeenth century was out-of-date and needed to be renewed. Thus once a new strength pushed forwards from outside it could set Japan in motion in a way much faster than in China.

8. The new leaders were a remarkable young group of men of far-sighted statesmanship who made accurate and adequate reforms for modernization which included establishing new political institutions, consolidating the new regime, developing the economy, business and industrialization, retrenching finance and carrying out tax reforms. As well, the leaders had realized from the start that social and intellectual modernization was the prerequisite to successful innovation in line with Westernization. Thus they carried out legal reforms, sought new knowledge by importing foreign experts from overseas, and made an effort in educational improvements. After their endeavours over two decades, the victories in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War proved that Japan had reached its national goal of 'rich nation and strong army'.

A Chinese scholar, Li En-Han, made a comparison between the Self-Strengthening Movement in China and the Meiji Restoration in Japan and he thought that, based on the following reasons, Japan was faster than China in its modernization.<sup>9</sup>

1. Japan was an island country and communication and traffic were convenient, but China was a continental country with a vast territory and a huge population. Under these conditions, Japan would be more easily made ready for modernization than China.
2. Japan was not a self-sufficient economic system [sic: this assertion is surely questionable], thus it needed to promptly introduce Western technologies and knowledge to improve its production.
3. There was no smuggling of opium along the coastal region around Japan but China did have serious problems with this.
4. There were no such things for Japan as war-indemnity or loss of territory and Japan experienced much better treatment from the West than China.
5. Japan had learnt it was impossible to repel the West (the so-called 'barbarians') with its weak military so that it rapidly changed its attitude to compromise and started to learn from them. But China, until 1860, learnt almost nothing about the West and just indulged in its traditions and past.
6. Japan had the experience of borrowing Chinese civilization and Dutch learning also had some significance in Japanese society, but China had fewer such experiences.
7. Japan could undertake a full range of reforms for modernization, but China

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapter One in Li, En-Han 李恩涵, *A Collectios of Studies on Chinese Modern History* (*chin-dai-shih-shi yen-chiu lun-chi* 近代中國史事研究論集) (Taiwan, 1982), pp. 1-26.

- only undertook reforms under the dynastic Establishment in order to retain the regime, and did not carry out a real political reform from the West.
8. There was a big difference between the samurai class with its goal-oriented concept in Japan and the scholar-gentry class with a status-oriented concept in China. With the goal-oriented concept, the samurai in Japan put most of their efforts into the fulfillment of tasks but the status-oriented scholar-gentry class in China put their efforts into promotion in officialdom.
  9. It could be seen that there was nationalism in Japan but absolutely none in China.
  10. Through the influence of the traditional Confucian Classics, Chinese people were inclined to notice moral aspects but neglect material aspects; were aware of the existence of the family rather than that of the nation; took notice of the meaning of life but disregarded the development of business and industry. But compared with China, Japan was practical and, relatively speaking, had no such burden from its traditions. Thus it was easier for Japan than China to accept Westernization.
  11. Japan had a consolidated, centralized, and capable leadership to take charge of reforms but China did not.
  12. Japan had many far-sighted leaders with statesmanship who served in the government but relatively speaking, China did not.
  13. The national goal of 'rich nation and strong army' was firmly instituted in the hands of political elites and adopted policies had continually and constantly been executed in Japan, but this was not the case in China.

## **6.2. A set of criteria to review the best principles for modernization**

John K. Fairbank says:<sup>10</sup>

Each generation's historians have the task of presenting the past's relevance to our present concerns. Human rights and legal procedure have become great issues in the United States. If we take them as criteria of modernity and find China even more imperfect than ourselves, we may well feel *déjà vu*. We have been here before, sitting in judgment on a largely unknown country from a great distance.

According to this ideology and accompanied by the final conclusions within each

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<sup>10</sup> Fairbank, John K. *The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985* (New York, 1986), p. 368.

chapter (from Two to Five) in this thesis, plus the views of those scholars mentioned above in this chapter, I intend to set up theoretically a set of 'criteria' to examine what is the ideal 'model' to undertake for modernization or any kind of reform in a state today. Merely based on a comparison of two nations' modernization, these criteria might not be enough to show the whole picture of exactly the right way to modernise. But they are worth referring to because "We have been here before, sitting in judgment on a large unknown country from a great distance."

1. Definitely, most important for modernization is that a consolidating central leadership has to be established. It needs a group of political elites, whether it is called an 'oligarchy' or what the renowned British historian Toynbee called 'a creative minority', who are able to take charge of reforms and can play key positions in the central government on a large scale and for a long period of time. They should always put the national interest ahead of private interest; have a strong, willing and unyielding spirit to carry out the reforms, and be far-sighted statesmen. As well, they have to consider the following more carefully before initiating reforms:

- The domestic situation, which includes the legacies from tradition involved in reforms, as well as the current political, economic, military, and social situations, which should be reexamined and evaluated. Moreover, they have to persuade the great majority to accept their advocacy of modernization with confidence.
- External threats have to be precisely perceived in the early stage because threats could be considered as stimulation and initiate a new strength to develop a state for modernization. There are several better ways to understand the real external situations which mainly consist of: establishing a formal diplomatic relationship with foreign countries; dispatching diplomatic missions overseas; sending students abroad; bringing foreign experts to the country; and translating foreign knowledge, science, technology, philosophy and current events.
- With a smart strategy to address oppositions from conservative and privileges-in-hand holders, the reformers could use communication and persuasion, negotiation and compromise but under acceptable circumstances, or use other crucial ways to rule them out.
- The question of whether there should be reforms within the Establishment or a revolution to topple the old Establishment should be considered seriously. Because once a revolution against the



Establishment is carried out, the whole nation will pay a heavy price.

2. Efficient executive organizations and advisory groups and respective monitoring/inspecting authorities should be created and:
  - The system of central and local governments, which is based on a sound well-educated bureaucracy, has to be efficient and incorruptible to carry out reforms.
  - The advisory groups should consist of those from industrial, professional and academic fields who can make appropriate suggestions relating to reforms to the government.
  - The monitoring/inspecting authorities, which have the right of impeachment, should constantly reexamine the results of the reforms and make comments or corrections to the government if necessary.
3. Regarding reforms, the policies of reform should be feasible, adequate, efficient, and continual. Moreover, reforms should cover the full range of depth and breadth as well as being undertaken constantly, continually and insistently. If some mistakes are found, corrections or amendments should be implemented promptly without hesitation. Reforms including the following three layers should be precisely perceived:
  - The surface layer containing manufacturing technology of the military and light and heavy industries.
  - The middle layer containing the political structure and legal system.
  - A deep layer containing the type of philosophy, culture and ways of thinking.
4. As for the common people, the late Chairman Mao Tse-Tung (1893-1976) of the Chinese Communist Party had a slogan 'all service for the people' (*yi-chieh wei-ren-ming fu-wu* 一切爲人民服務). The people are the foundation of the nation: any reforms without the support of the people cannot be expected to be satisfactory in the end. Thus in pursuit of successful reforms communication with the people and feedback from the people should take place.
5. Once national goals have been decided, reformers must persevere with them until achieved; they should not abandon them or despair of achieving them.

6. By any account, any kind of reform eventually needs the people's support. Perhaps if the reforms are launched by a creative minority and for reasons such as achieving social stability and a certain level of livelihood, people might lose some freedom at the beginning. However in the long term, sovereignty should be returned from the hands of oligarchy to the people. In short, inevitably any reforms have to be based on democracy, laws and institutions, which means that the majority of the people in the nation should take a full part in the policy-making and a sound legal system should be established, otherwise it is impossible to achieve the goals constantly and permanently.

As a result, a chart in line with modernization or any kind of reform could be drawn up as in the Appendix. It should be flexible, adjustable and dynamic according to the different situations in different countries.

### **6.3. Conclusion**

In theory, merits and demerits in the process of the modernization of China and Japan can be found and some precious lessons can be learned from both modern histories. These teachings could be applied to those who want to carry out their national modernization anywhere around the world. Therefore, hypothetically, a set of criteria could be established to re-examine what are the necessary conditions for the progress of modernization and a chart could be drawn to make a clear picture of a reasonable procedure of modernization. Whether these criteria and the chart as presented in this thesis are adequate, partly adequate, or not adequate at all, is, of course, a matter of debate, but I personally believe that in principle such lessons can be learned and such procedures followed.

## **Chapter Seven:**

### **Conclusion**

In the lingering river of human history the phenomenon of cultural assimilation has occurred frequently. However, when the Western countries came to the East in the nineteenth century in search of markets for their superabundant products resulting from industrialization, world history was totally changed. When the Occident, accompanied by a gunboat policy demanding the opening of ports for trading, encountered the Orient, East Asian countries from long existing civilized China to Japan, Korea, and Vietnam were shocked because such a thing had never happened in their history and nobody perceived what the essence of Western civilization was.

In general, modern Western civilization might be said to have these characteristics:

- Nationalism.
- Democracy and a legal system of political institution.
- Capitalism, in favor of mercantilism, and an emphasis on free competition in a free market.
- Industrialization.
- Modernized military troops and weapons.
- Individualism and advocacy of human rights.
- Scientific ways of thinking.

However, the characteristics of Oriental civilization have been:

- The ideology of Confucianism.
- Despotism and feudalism of a dynastic monarch or shogunate system in the political situation.
- Sustaining a self-sufficient economic system and favouring physiocracy.
- Traditional handicrafts manufacturing industries.
- Traditional military troops and weapons.
- Collectivism and the favouring of a family circle or clanship.
- Reverence for tradition and submission to authority.

Under the circumstances of an unexpected collision between these two different types of civilizations, nobody could imagine how those countries with an Oriental-cultural

background could respond properly to the West, particularly as the encounter was not by chance but by force. There was a potential menace from the Occident in the view of those East Asian countries.

However, although the menace was a kind of crisis it was also a stimulus as well as encouragement for a nation's innovation. To respond to the threats from the West these nations had to move to modernize themselves and there were two typical examples. One was a continental country with a vast territory and a huge population, namely China of the Ch'ing dynasty, and the other was an island with a relatively small territory and a small population, namely Meiji Japan. Through this thesis *A Comparative Analysis of the Differences between Chinese and Japanese Modernization in the Mid-late Nineteenth Century, with Particular Regard to the Idea of 'Rich Nation and Strong Army'*, we can observe the way they responded to the challenge from the Western menace during the period 1840-1912. As a result of their responses, the former moved very slowly towards its national goal but the latter achieved a great success.<sup>1</sup>

It is necessary to recognize the core of this issue of why Japan could be successful; and conversely why China moved so slowly. Through methodologies of comparison and analysis as well as from the observation of these dimensions including political, economic and financial, military, legal, communication and transportation, educational and cultural, and social and psychological fields, I have divided the topic into four temporal phases to compare these two nations' processes of modernization.

In the influences involved in the legacies (Chapter Two), we perceived that those elements of the legacies involved in territorial integrity, population and the political, military, economic and social situations in the Tokugawa Shogunate of Japan were relatively more conducive to modernization along Western lines than those in Ch'ing China.

In the formative phase (Chapter Three), the central government of the Ch'ing Court and the regional provinces in China knew little and almost did nothing to respond to the menace of the West; by contrast, the Tokugawa Shogunate and the local daimyō had a deep sense of crisis and they had already launched a series of reforms under their regimes in this stage. In particular, the Restoration of Power to the Emperor on

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<sup>1</sup> I should emphasise that slowing down of modernization in China does not mean it did not achieve anything at all in its modernization. By the same token, Japan truly achieved great success in its modernization but democracy in politics and reverence for human rights, both with a special meaning in modernization, were not achieved in the Meiji period.

October 14 1867 and the Opening the Gates of Edo without Bloodshed in April 1868 occurred. A bloodless revolution had taken place and the Meiji Restoration made its debut in Japanese modern history.

In the operative phase (Chapter Four), both nations pursued a national goal of 'rich nation and strong army'. However, the Self-Strengthening Movement in Ch'ing China merely undertook a superficial reform primarily limited to military innovation and introduction of Western industrialization in order to retain the old dynastic stability. By contrast, Meiji Japan under the leadership of an oligarchy (a creative minority), launched a full range of reforms in pursuit of the West. As a result, in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) Japan won victory and this was a remarkable milestone on its way to modernization.

In the consequent phase (Chapter Five), even though China had by now a better comprehension of the West and continued with some reforms, its path to modernization was still winding and frustrated. This was mainly because of the ineffective imperial leadership in the central government as well as the ethnic antipathy and power struggling between Manchu and Han officers, which seriously damaged cooperation in the bureaucracy and was unhelpful in generating nationalistic sentiment among the people. In contrast with China, Japan's modernization had shown continuity, integrity, and accumulation and acceleration and attained the national goal of 'rich nation and strong army' in this phase. In particular, Japan won another war, the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), which encouraged it to follow the steps of the West towards militarism and imperialism.

In addition, in the lessons from history (Chapter Six), we saw several famous scholars' opinions on this issue, including both the emic (native view) and the etic (foreigner view). As well, a set of criteria to review what might be the best principles and an ideal model for modernization were set out for reference.

After long consideration while reviewing the comparison of the modernization of both nations, as my humble conclusion I offer the following as the most important factors in the different results for Ch'ing China and Meiji Japan.

Meiji Japan had the following features:

- A racially homogeneous nation, which was adaptable to nationalism.
- The Meiji Restoration was an anti-Establishment movement, which toppled

the shogunate system and established a new regime, thereby opening the door to modernisation.

- Japan had a number of exceptionally talented political elites with far-sighted statesmanship as well as unsullied integrity at the top of the national machine; thus the national destination and reconstruction could be successfully made by their hands.
- Under the political slogan 'rich nation and strong army', a full range of reforms in pursuit of modernization was carried out. As well the national goal of catching up with the West was very clear.
- The goal-oriented samurai class with their efforts towards the fulfillment of tasks had brought their ability into full play in the process of Japan's modernization.
- The majority of Japanese people submitted to authority and showed their great loyalty to the emperor. In general they were easily able to be educated for what the government demanded.

The Self-Strengthening Movement and the Hundred Day Reform and the Constitutional Movement in Ch'ing China had these features:

- China was a heterogeneous nation and the Ch'ing dynasty was an alien regime established by a minority of Manchus. The ethnic diarchy within a monarchy of the political Establishment fundamentally pursued a power balance in order to retain the regime, but was not an ideal structure when the situation demanded innovation.
- From the Self-Strengthening Movement down, everything was not part of a revolution but was carried out within the Establishment for the purpose of restoring the long-existing dynastic order and system. It was true that some reforms were carried out but for compromise and not for full modernization.
- Lack of leaders with far-sighted statesmanship and unsullied integrity in the central government.
- Under the political slogan 'rich nation and strong army', China merely undertook superficial reforms, which mainly included military reform and introducing industrialization, not a full dimension of modernization.
- The social elite, the scholar-gentry class with a status-oriented ideology in society, mostly paid attention to their own social reputation or promotion in officialdom ahead of the national interests.
- In general, most Chinese people were relatively conservative and passive with no teamwork spirit, and inertia was prevalent.

The lessons from history are precious and can be applied universally. The world can learn from these two extraordinary nations, from their mistakes as well as their successes on the way to modernization. This study, pretentiously hoping to build on the work of famous scholars who have made a great contribution to the topics of both nations' modernizations, has endeavoured to reexamine what caused the different results in Japan as compared to China during the late of nineteenth century, in which one caught up with the West, the other one slowed down.

“To present the past’s relevance to our present concerns” has been, in a broader sense, the over-arching aim of this thesis.

## Appendix One:

### Chronology

	China	Japan
1839	Lin Tse-Hsu forced British traders to hand over opium stocks and caused Opium War (December 1839-1842)	Bansha no Goku (Imprisonment of the Companions of Barbarian Studies).
1841	Convention of Chuan-pi (in Jan) was signed with Britain. Sanyuanli Incident occurred in Canton (in May).	Tempō Reform (1841-1842) initiated by Mizuno Tadakuni.
1842	Treaty of Nanjing ended the Opium War and opened five ports to Britain.	The Order of Supply of Water and Food to Foreigners.
1843	A supplementary Treaty of the Bogue was signed in relation to the tariff.	
1844	Treaty of Wanghsia was signed with the United States in July. Treaty of Whampoa with France in October.	
1850	The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) began in Kwangsi.	
1852	Tseng Kuo-Fan began organizing the Hunan Army.	
1853	The Taiping captured Nanking. Nien Rebellion occurred (1853-1868)	Four warships of the U.S. East India Squadron, commanded by Commodore Matthew Perry, called at Uraga.
1854		Kanagawa Treaty (Treaty of Peace and Amity between the U.S. and the Empire of Japan) was signed.



		As well, with the same conditions as the Kanagawa Treaty, treaties with Britain and Russia were signed.
1855	The Moslem (Panthay) Rebellion occurred in Yunnan (1855-1873).	Treaty of Peace and Amity was signed with the Dutch.
1856	Arrow Incident.	The consul general of the U.S.A., Townsend Harris, took up his office in Japan.
1857	British and French forces captured Guangzhou.	
1858	The Anglo-French Forces captured Tientsin, leading to the signing of the Treaties of Tientsin.	Ansei Commercial Treaties with the U.S.A., Dutch, Russia, Britain and French were concluded. Beginning of the Ansei Purge (1858-1860).
1860	The signing of the Peking Conventions resulted in the Anglo-French Allied seizure of Peking on October 24 <sup>th</sup> . The Supplementary Treaty of Peking was signed to recognize the Treaty of Aigun with Russia on November 14 <sup>th</sup> .	Assassination of Ii Naosuke (Sakuradamongai Incident). A Japanese vessel, Kanrin-maru, came to the U.S.A. for the first time.
1861	Emperor Hsien-Feng died in August and the Emperor T'ung Chih succeeded, but Empresses Dowager Tz'u-An and Tz'u-Hsi became co-regents. The Tsungli Yamen was established and headed by Prince Kung. The Cooperative Policy with the West inaugurated by Ch'ing Court. Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1895) started.	

1862	The Tungan (another Moslem) Rebellion occurred (1862-1873) in the northwest.	Incident of <i>Sakashita mongai</i> . Incident of <i>Namamugi</i> . The Anglo-Satsuma War.
1864	The Taiping Rebellion was suppressed under Western aid. The Moslem Riots (1864-1877) led by Yakub Beg (1820-1877) in Sinkiang occurred.	Incident of <i>Ikedaya</i> . Incident of Kinmon. The artillery bombardment on Shimonoseki by four nations. The first of the Chōshū expeditions by the Shogunate.
1865	Tseng Kuo-Fan and Li Hung-Chang jointly established the Kiang-Nan Arsenal in Shanghai. The Inspectorate of the Imperial Maritime Customs established in Peking under Robert Hart's aid.	
1866	Tso Tsung-T'ang established the Foochow Navy Yard with a naval school attached.	Satsuma-Chōshū Alliance formed against Tokugawa shogunate. The second of the Chōshū expeditions by the Shogunate. Tokugawa Yoshinobu became the 15 <sup>th</sup> Shogun.
1867	France annexed three Cochin-China (Central and Southern Vietnam) provinces. Tso Tsung-T'ang began campaigns against the Moslem Rebellion in the Northwest.	Formal return of political authority to the emperor by Tokugawa Yoshinobu. Return of Political Rule to the Emperor ( <i>taisei hōkan</i> ).
1868	Nian Rebellion was terminated.	Restoration of Imperial Rule; Meiji Restoration. <i>Boshin</i> Civil War (1868-1869) began.

1869		<p>Five-Article Charter Oath promulgated (<i>gokajō no goseimon</i>).</p> <p>The Capital transferred to Tokyo.</p> <p>Formal return of domainal registers to the Emperor Meiji. (<i>hanseki hōkan</i>).</p> <p>The end of <i>Boshin</i> Civil War.</p>
1870	Tianjin massacre	Commoners could choose their own names.
1871	<p>Japanese aggression on Taiwan (1871-1874).</p> <p>Russian occupation of Ili (1871-1881).</p>	<p>Establishment of the Administrative Prefecture System (<i>haihan chiken</i>).</p> <p>Iwakura Diplomatic Mission (1871-1873).</p> <p>The proclamation of the Ordinance of Liberation.</p>
1872	China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company proposed.	<p>The Education Order was promulgated</p> <p>Commencement of the establishment of the Ryukyu Islands.</p> <p>A nationwide family register finished.</p>
1873	Muslim Rebellion (Panthay) in Yunnan was terminated. As well a Muslim Rebellion (Tungun) in the Northwestern Region was terminated too.	<p>Gregorian Calendar adopted on 1<sup>st</sup> January.</p> <p>Conscription Ordinance enacted.</p> <p>Land Tax Reform Law issued.</p> <p>Declaration of the Law of Transferring Stipends to Bonds (<i>chitsuroku hōkan</i>).</p>
1874		<p>Itagaki Taisuke and others submitted the Tosa Memorial.</p> <p>The Expedition to Taiwan.</p>
1875		The Incident of Kangwha.

1876	Start of three-year drought and famine in North China.	Treaty of Kangwha signed with Korea. Disestablishment of samurai.
1877	Establishment of Chinese legations in Western capitals and Tokyo. Tso Tsung-T'ang subjugated Sinkiang.	Satsuma Rebellion; Saigō Takamori committed suicide.
1878		Establishment of the Military General Staff Office to regulate the military power controlled by the emperor.
1879	Liuqiu (Ryukyu) islands annexed by Japan.	Establishment of Ryukyu Prefecture.
1880		Formation of the League for Establishing a National Assembly. Public Assembly Ordinance issued to control the Freedom and People's Rights Movement.
1881		Imperial rescript promised the promulgation of a constitution and the convening of a national assembly. Jiyūtō (Liberal Party) is formed.
1883	France and China confronted each other for control of Tongking in Annam (Vietnam.)	Completion of Rokumeikan (a hall built as a sign of adopting the Westernization policy.)
1884	The Sino-French War over Annam occurred, (1884-1885). France destroyed Fuzhou Shipyard.	Promulgation of the Ordinance of the Nobility ( <i>kazokurei</i> ).
1885	Treaty of Tianjin concluded Sino-French War.	The first Cabinet led by Itō Hirobumi occurred, the Cabinet system formed.

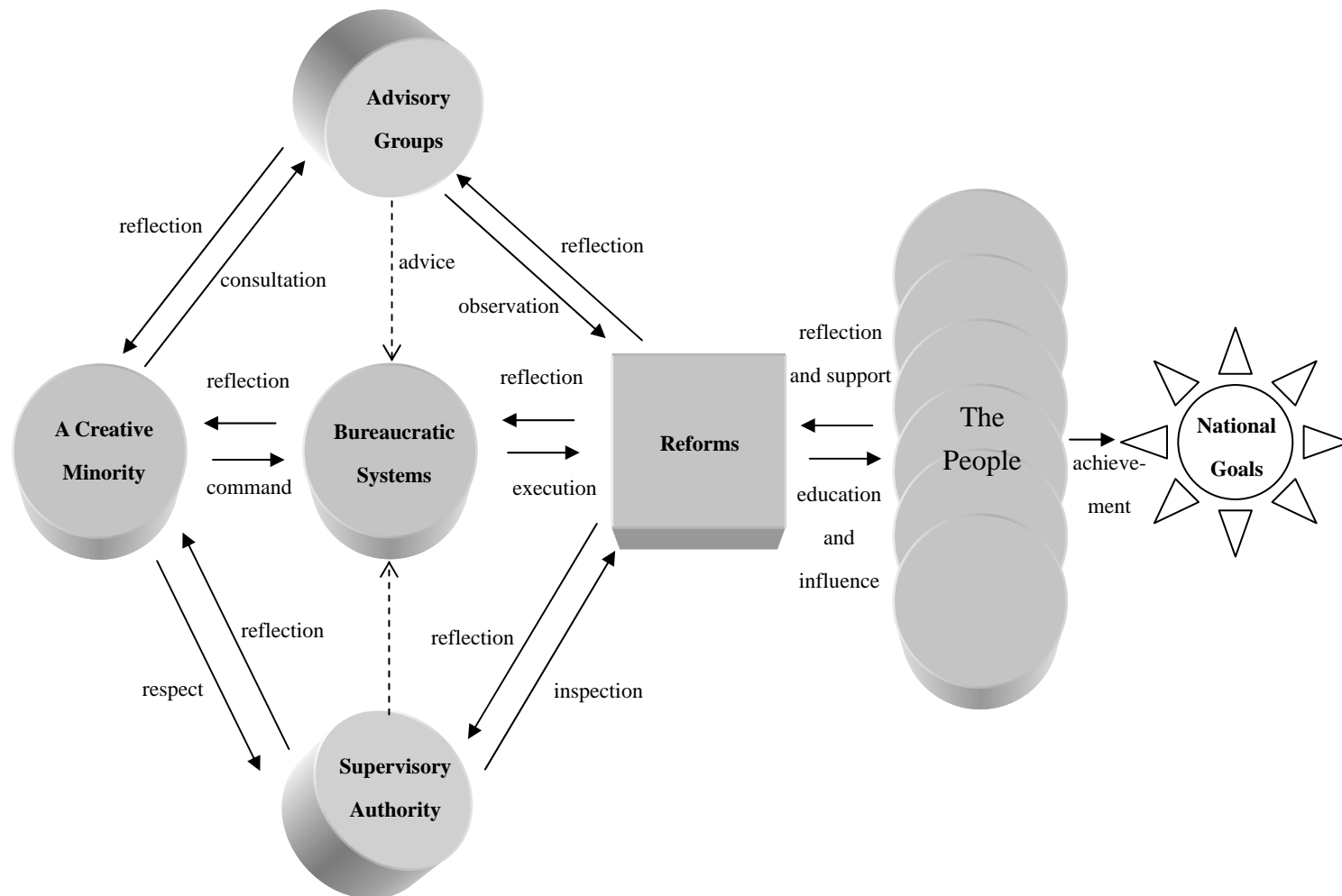
	The Li-Itō Convention signed in Tientsin to settle the Sino-Japanese dispute in Korea.	A convention signed with Ch'ing China to settle the dispute in Korea.
1886	The construction of the Summer Palace with naval funds resumed.	Establishment of the Hokkaido Board.
1887		Establishment of the System of Bureaucrats' Advanced Examination.
1888	The Pei-yang Navy formally established under Li, Hung-Chang's direction.	Establishment of the Privy Council.
1889		Constitution of the Empire of Japan promulgated.
1890		The first election for the House of Representatives. Imperial Rescript on Education distributed to all schools. Convention of the first session of the Imperial Diet. Japan started to develop its heavy industry.
1894	Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Sun Yat-Sen founded a secret society to restore China's Prosperity.	Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty of 1894 signed, abolishing extraterritoriality. Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 began.
1895	China was defeated by Japan and the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. Tripartite Intervention.	The Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. Tripartite Intervention.
1896	Secret Sino- Russian Treaty was signed.	The Shōwai Cabinet (松隈内閣) formed.

1897	Scramble for concessions by Germany, England, Russian, and France. (1897-1898). Germany obtained a ninety-nine year lease on Jiao-zhou Bay.	Yahata Steel Factory constructed. The gold standard system confirmed.
1898	The Hundred Day Reform. Great British obtained a ninety-nine year lease on the Xiang-gang New Territory.	The Waihan Cabinet (隈板内閣) formed.
1899		Japan freed from extraterritoriality from the West.
1900	The Boxer Rebellion occurred.	Dispatch of an expedition to China to suppress the Boxer Rebellion.
1901	Boxer Protocol was signed.	
1902		Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed.
1904		Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 began in Ch'ing China's territory.
1905	Formation of the Revolution Alliance (T'ung-meng hui) led by Sun Yat-Sen in Tokyo. China started to undertake constitutional reforms.	The Treaty of Portsmouth was signed.
1908	Death of Emperor Guang-Xu, Pu-Yi the successor. Death of Empress Dowager.	
1909	First elections for provincial assemblies.	Itō Hirobumi was assassinated in Korea.
1910	First National Assembly convened.	The High Treason Incident. The Annexation of Korea.

1911	Double Tenth Revolution occurred at Wuchang.	Treaties signed with the Western powers that restored the right of tariff autonomy to Japan.
12	The Republic of China was established and Sun Yat-Sen was recommended as the president. The Ch'ing's Emperor Pu-Yi announced abdication.	The Death of Emperor Meiji; accession of Emperor Taishō. First Movement to Protect Constitutional Government founded.

**Source:** For the the Chinese part: based upon K.H. Kim, *Japanese Perspective on China's Early Modernization* (Michigan, 1974), pp. 3-12; Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (New York, 1970), pp. 342-347; J.A.G. Roberts, *A Chronological Table of Modern China* (Great Britain, 1998), and Gilbert Rozman, *A Chronological Table of The Modernization of China* (New York, 1981). For the Japanese part: based upon Suzuki Hushiko ed., *Eigo de yomu Nihonshi (Japanese History: 11 Experts Reflect on the past)* (Tokyo, 1996); Kanabako, Yoshiaki eds., *Nihonshi sōran (Conspectus of Japanese History)* (Tokyo, 2001); Hamashima, Masaaki eds., *Shinshō Nihonshi (New Vision of Japanese History)* (Tokyo, 1998).

## Appendix 2: An idealized model for undertaking modernization or any reform





## **Chart, Maps, Pictures, Figures**

### **Chart**

Chart 1. An Ideal Model for Undertaking Modernization or any Reform.

### **Maps**

Map 1. European Contacts with the East to 1700.

Map 2. Ch'ing China – Physical Features.

Map 3. The Opium Trade in China in the Early Mid Nineteenth Century.

Map 4. Japan on the Eve of the Meiji Restoration.

Map 5. Tokugawa Japan: Major Daimyo Domains.

Map 6. Tokugawa Japan: Traffic Situations on Land and by sea.

Map 7. The Opening of the Treaty Ports.

Map 8. A Simple and Plain Illustration: Ch'ing China during the Self-Strengthening Movement Period.

Map 9. Foreign Encroachment on China, c.1900.

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Picture 1. Bound Feet Bare and Shod.

Picture 2. Mandarin with Opium Pipe.

### **Figures**

Figure 1. Tz'u-Hsi.

Figure 3. Wen-Hsiang.

Figure 5. Tso Tsung-T'ang.

Figure 7. Meiji Emperor.

Figure 9. Kido Takayoshi.

Figure 11. Ōkubo Toshimichi.

Figure 2. Prince Kung.

Figure 4. Tseng Kuo-Fan.

Figure 6. Li Hung-Chang.

Figure 8. Itō Hirobumi.

Figure 10. Yamagata Aritomo.

Figure 12. Ōkuma Shigenobu.



Fig. 1: Tz'u-Hsi



Fig. 2: Prince Kung



Fig. 3: Wen-Hsiang



Fig. 4: Tseng Kuo-Fan



Fig. 5: Tso Tsung-T'ang



Fig. 6: Li Hung-Chang



Fig. 7: Emperor Meiji



Fig. 8: Itō Hirobumi



Fig. 9: Kido Takayoshi



Fig. 10: Yamagata Aritomo



Fig. 11: Ōkubo Toshimichi



Fig. 12: Ōkuma Shigenobu

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